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BIRKBECK AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

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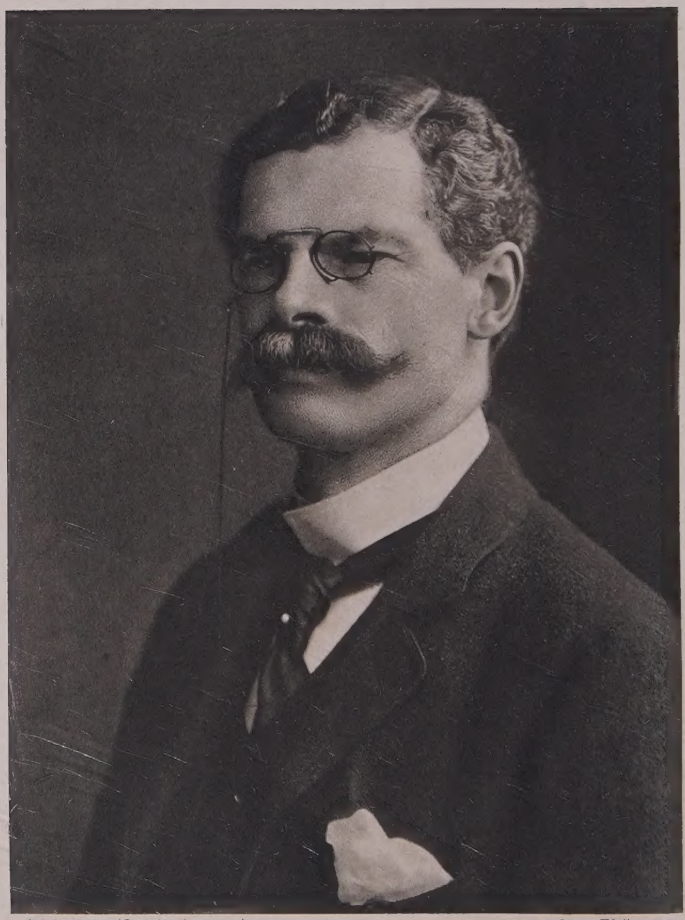

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W. J. Birkbeck

BIRKBECK AND THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

CONTAINING

Essays and Articles by the late W. J. Birkbeck, M.A., F.S.A., written in the years 1888—1915

(Being a continuation of *Russia and the English Church*, Vol. I)

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY HIS FRIEND

ATHELSTAN RILEY, M.A.

SEIGNEUR DE LA TRINITÉ

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To MY SON

CHRISTOPHER J. M. RILEY, M.C.

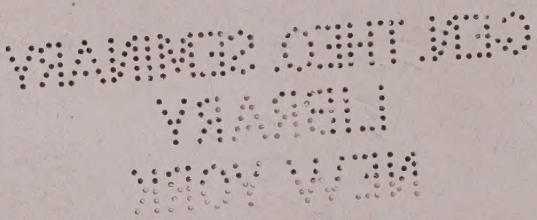
CAPTAIN, COLDSTREAM GUARDS,

THESE LITERARY REMAINS OF

HIS GODFATHER

ARE DEDICATED IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF LOOS, 28 SEPTEMBER, 1915.



"Nomen inane, puer, ne ducas grande memento
Semper onus Christum pectore ferre tuo."—W. J. B.

PREFACE.

In 1895 the following work was published under the auspices of the Eastern Church Association,[1] *Russia and the English Church during the Last Fifty Years, Vol. I, containing a Correspondence between Mr. William Palmer, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and M. Khomiakoff, in the years 1844-54, edited by W. J. Birkbeck, M.A., F.S.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.* This book consisted of a correspondence between the Rev. William Palmer,[2] an Anglican divine, and Alexis Stepanovich Khomiakoff, a Russian layman and a theologian of the first rank, with a valuable introduction and notes by the Editor. No one desirous of becoming acquainted with the teaching and spirit of the Eastern Church can afford to neglect this book, and it is hardly too much to say that no Anglican will read it without taking his bearings afresh, dissipating certain prejudices, and gaining a wider view of Christianity as a whole. The last chapter in the book contains Khomiakoff's *Essay on the Unity of the Church*, a treatise which for clarity and profundity of thought in a

[1] Now the Anglican and Eastern Association.

[2] The "Cursing Deacon". He acquired this strange *soubriquet* during a series of theological pamphlets at Oxford, from the publication of certain open letters to opponents containing anathemas of Protestant statements. He was a remarkable member of a remarkable family, being brother to Lord Chancellor Selborne and reckoned, the latter once told me, as the ablest of them all. He wrote several theological books but never proceeded beyond the diaconate. He finally joined the Roman Church whilst holding the Eastern opinion on the *Filioque* (see *Russia and the English Church*, p. 186) and died in Rome in 1879.

small compass challenges comparison with any theological essay of Western provenance in modern times.

Birkbeck originally intended to produce Vol. II, but as time went on the intention seemed to fade. "I shall never write it," he used to say, and I do not know that he had even decided on its scope. Now that he has passed away his friends have no doubt that the collected essays on Russia and the Russian Church of the man who devoted his life to the cause of unity should form the second volume of *Russia and the English Church*. Birkbeck did more than anyone has ever done to bring the two Churches together; what he did he did wisely and with infinite patience, and his writings, with a few connecting and explanatory notes, form the best history of these ecclesiastical relations down to the beginning of the Great War.

About my dear and intimate friend I will say but little here, for his Letters and Memoirs are now being prepared for the press. We were boys together at Eton, fellow-undergraduates at Oxford, and companions through life. For over forty years we were united in the closest bond, that of faith; for more than thirty we thought together and acted together in every phase of storm and stress which overtook the Church of England during that period; together we tried to serve her whether in times of difficulty or in times of tranquillity. He had all the instincts of the scholar, but was saved from anything approaching academic narrowness from the breadth of view which comes from mixing with the world, and, above all, from travel in many lands. On the death of his father he succeeded to a considerable fortune and thenceforward spent his time between his beautiful home at Stratton Strawless, Norfolk,[1] and his beloved Russia, where "Ivan

[1] He had married in 1883 Miss Rose Gurney, by whom he had two sons and a daughter.

Vassilievich"[1] was welcomed by his innumerable friends, amongst whom he was privileged to include the Emperor and some of the members of the Imperial family.

His reading was as wide as his travels. He owed much to the Oxford History School, in which he had taken honours. He was well acquainted with the chief Latin and Greek authors, and used them freely in his writings and conversation to illustrate his meaning. He spoke French, Russian, and German with accuracy. He could read Swedish, Danish, and Italian, and even converse in those languages with tolerable facility. Besides, he knew Old Slavonic, the language of the Russian Church, and his interest in Iceland, where he had travelled as a young man, had led him to acquire some knowledge of Icelandic. He was an accomplished musician, a performer on the organ, piano, and violoncello.[2] His memory was so retentive that on one occasion he set himself the task of reproducing the parts of a Beethoven quartet and successfully accomplished it in a night. He was an enthusiastic student of plainsong and edited that portion of the *English Hymnal*. His lecture on Russian ecclesiastical music and notation before the London Musical Association was a remarkable example of his power to grasp a recondite and difficult theme. He knew a great deal about liturgical subjects, was familiar with the Sarum service-books, and could order to the smallest detail the ceremonies of a High Mass. He was an accurate and cautious theologian whom no opponent could afford to play with. His judgment was rarely, if ever, at fault, and his opinions on men and affairs were expressed in racy and delightful language. He could not endure folly, especially in matters of

[1] "John, the son of Basil," the nearest Russian equivalent to "John, the son of William". Birkbeck used his second Christian name; his father was Mr. William Birkbeck.

[2] It is curious that he was incapable of singing, or even humming the simplest melody, and though he wrote admirably, he could not deliver a speech.

religion, and clerical fools, whether episcopal or presbyteral, received scant respect from him. He was on friendly terms with the most distinguished prelates, and he ended by winning their respect and then their confidence before he died. He shared Queen Elizabeth's dislike for bishops' wives, and regarded their presence in episcopal palaces as not only offending against Christian sentiment and Catholic order but as practically harmful to diocesan administration; but from his habitual courtesy and the gentleman's disinclination to make others uncomfortable it is very doubtful whether his attitude was often discovered. Three things he regarded as specially lacking in the Church of England and upon these he was perpetually insisting — the doctrine of the Communion of Saints as necessary to a right conception of the Church, the doctrine of icons, as focussed in the dogmatic decree of the Seventh General Council (he had studied the iconoclastic controversy and had got to the real issues which lay beneath it), and lastly, devotion to the Mother of God as the great bulwark of the true faith in our Lord's Personality. On these questions he set himself to convert the High Church party, still largely dominated by Post-Reformation prejudices, and he certainly lived to see the impression he had made. He never disguised from himself the weakness of the Church of England; he faced her difficulties resolutely. He knew the Roman, the Eastern,[1] and the Anglican Communions equally well; he was at his ease in a Benedictine monastery or at the Vatican[2] just as amongst Oriental dignitaries in a Russian *lavra;* but the Anglican Communion was his spiritual home, he was throughout life a devout recipient of her sacraments, and attendant on her ministrations and to her service he consecrated all his singular talents. Only once had he any temptation to leave the Church of England, at Oxford, when he first went up from Eton, but the glamour of Rome soon passed

[1] Except the Greek portion.

[2] He had a private audience with Pope Leo XIII in 1895.

away never to return. He was persuaded that the modern papal claims and system were dangerous exaggerations and historically and theologically untenable, whilst the Eastern position, fairly stated, would stand. The Papacy had made the Reformation inevitable; Protestantism was hatched from the egg that Rome had laid. The Church of England had escaped "by the skin of her teeth" from the awful shock of the sixteenth century; marred and scarred, her sacraments and her ministry were still valid and though she was full of abuses he saw no reason why these should not in time be purged away. "From Eastern premisses," he would say, "I can prove Rome wrong, but I cannot prove Canterbury right." He insisted that the hopes of the Church of England lay in a gradual approximation to the Eastern Church and eventual union with it as the guardian of true Catholic tradition, whilst she kept her occidental and national customs as being necessary to us as Westerns in thought and character, and as members of the *Ecclesia Anglicana* whose noble birth and history we cannot afford to forget. That was his life's dream and to it he consecrated his life's work.

I last saw my friend at the Athenæum Club in March, 1916. I heard he had been in communication with high officers of state in England, and there were rumours that he was going to see important personages in Russia on matters connected with the Great War. He told me that he was starting the next day, crossing the North Sea to Bergen, and travelling thence to Petrograd by way of Sweden. I asked why he was going to Russia. "Oh!" he replied, "I think I should like to spend Easter at Moscow." We parted to meet no more in this world. He reached Stratton Strawless from Russia just after Ascension Day, made his last communion with the members of his family in his parish church on the Sunday, and, being seized with a sudden illness, died on June 9, at the comparatively early age of 57, a few days after his return.

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CHAPTER I.

THE NINE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONVERSION OF RUSSIA.

EARLY in 1888 we received private letters from Mr. Arthur Hardinge,[1] then Second Secretary at the British Embassy in Petrograd, who was an old Eton and Oxford friend of ours, and had travelled in Iceland and elsewhere with Birkbeck. These letters told of the approaching religious commemoration at Kieff. (Mr. Hardinge had followed the events which led to the founding of the Archbishop's Assyrian Mission to the Nestorians in Persia and Kurdistan[2] and was then engaged in a study of the ecclesiastical side of Russia, though from a political and diplomatic, rather than from the religious point of view.) This intelligence I gave to Archbishop Benson. After careful consideration the Archbishop resolved to take the opportunity of opening communications with the Russian Church and we drafted a formal letter which took the following shape. I do not think that Birkbeck was consulted at this stage as he had then no knowledge of the Eastern Church and its prelates and had only visited Russia casually in 1882.

[1] Fellow of All Souls. Now Sir Arthur Hardinge, P.C., K.C.B., G.C.M.G., H.B.M. Ambassador at Madrid.

[2] I had been to these countries on behalf of the Archbishop in 1884 and 1886.

Edward, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and Metropolitan, to our Brother, Greatly Beloved in the Faith and Worship of the All-Holy and Undivided Trinity, Platon, by Divine Providence the Most Reverend Metropolitan of Kieff and Galicia, Greeting in the Lord.

"Intelligence having reached us of the approaching festival at the city of Kieff the Great, we, remembering the commandment of the Blessed Apostle, *χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων*, embrace this opportunity of communicating to your Grace, and through your Grace to the Bishops and clergy and laity of the Church of Russia, our most sincere sympathy and good-will.

Great festivals are commonly either religious or national. This celebration which you are holding is, indeed, in the first place, religious; but it is also national in the highest way. It is a thankful recognition before God of the sacred fact that Russia owes all that she has yet attained of power and dignity amongst the nations of Christendom, not merely to the sagacity of her rulers and the inborn strength of her people. You offer your thanksgiving to God because your branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which you reverently link with the name of the Apostle St. Andrew, has been coextensive with your nation, and because the Christian Faith, through the agency of the illustrious St. Vladimir, whose conversion you now commemorate, has illuminated your people through nine long centuries of history.

It was our original hope and purpose to have sent a Bishop to Kieff to represent the Church of England at your festival, and we were only prevented from carrying out our design by the events of the present month. During the whole month of July there is assembled in London under our presidency the Universal Episcopate of the Anglican Church. That is to say, not only the Bishops of the Church of England itself, but all the Archbishops, Metropolitans and Bishops of the Church of Ireland, Scotland and America, as well as the Bishops of India, and of the British Colonies, with many Missionary Bishops and

other Bishops who are in communion with us. One hundred and forty of these are now assembled here with us. This Conference meets once only in ten years, and its assemblies are of great importance to our Communion.

We find, therefore, that it would not be fitting for one of their number, who are assembled from all parts of the world, to quit this solemn gathering during its session. Thus we are, much to our regret and disappointment, compelled to abandon our intention, and to convey by the present letter our humble and fraternal congratulations to your Grace, and to the Church in which you worthily bear rule. Our beloved brethren will rejoice in the announcement that we have communicated to you the felicitations and congratulations and the assurance of prayer on behalf of your rejoicing multitude, in which we know that all will be of one heart and of one soul.

The Russian and the Anglican Churches have common foes. Alike we have to guard our independence against that Papal aggressiveness which claims to subordinate all the Churches of Christ to the See of Rome. Alike we have to protect our flocks from new and strange doctrines, adverse to that Holy Faith which was handed down to us by the Holy Apostles and Ancient Fathers of the Catholic Church. But the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, and by mutual sympathy that we may be one *ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου*, we shall encourage each other, and promote the salvation of all men.

Praying, therefore, earnestly in the Spirit for the unity of all men in the Faith of the Gospel, laid down and expounded by the Œcumenical Councils of the Undivided Church of Christ, and in the living knowledge of the Son of God, we ever remain your Grace's most faithful and devoted Servant and Brother in the Lord.

(Signed) EDW. CANTUAR.

Given at our Palace of Lambeth in London, and sealed with our Archiepiscopal Seal on the Western Fourteenth day

of July, in the year of our Salvation, one thousand, eight hundred and eighty-eight."

Before the draft was finally settled the question had arisen as to how the letter should be conveyed to Russia and by whom it should be presented. A Lambeth Conference was then sitting and at first it was proposed to send Bishop Smythies, of Zanzibar, and that I should accompany him. This, for some reason, was found impossible. Next, Bishop Hale, of Cairo, U.S.A., who was deeply interested in Oriental Christendom, was proposed, and I have preserved a memorandum from the Archbishop to the Foreign Office on the subject of sending an American instead of an English prelate, for by that time the *démarche* had assumed an official character. This proposal also fell to the ground, and it was finally resolved to send the letter through the British Embassy at Petrograd and to deliver it by the hands of Mr. Hardinge and of Birkbeck, who went to Russia for that purpose. The latter now tells the tale in a series of letters which appeared originally in the *Guardian*.

VIENNA, *August* 12.

On the evening of July 14 the churches of Kieff were all crowded for first Vespers of the next day's festival. It would take too long to describe in detail these services, several of which, under the kind guidance of M. Pobiedonostzeff,[1] and of his assistant, M. Sabler, I attended; but I must make an exception in the case of the impressive ceremony by which Vespers at the Church of St. Andrew was concluded. This church stands on a platform surrounded by a stone balustrade, raised

[1] Constantine Pobiedonostzeff, Chief Procurator, i.e. the Emperor's representative, at the Holy Synod. He had been tutor to the Emperor Alexander III and was at this time the most influential man in Russia. He died in 1907.—[A.R.]

high above the upper town, and approached from it on the west by a lofty flight of steps, while on the east it overhangs the steep slope (I may almost say cliff) down to the lower town several hundred feet below. It is built on the spot where St. Andrew is said to have once preached; and there is a tradition that in the time of St. Vladimir, a cross, which the Apostle had left, was found here. Towards the conclusion of Vespers, after the reading of the Old Testament lections, a procession was formed, which left the church by the west door, and passing round the stone platform, made a station at each of the four ends of the church, which is built in the form of a Greek cross. Words cannot describe the beauty of the scene—the officiant surrounded by the other clergy, amidst numerous burning tapers and clouds of fragrant incense, raising the Cross on high, and blessing the people at each of these stations, and the choir meanwhile chanting various anthems and psalms and the *Kyrie Eleison;* while below, lit up by the rays of the setting sun, were all the gold and coloured domes of the other churches of the city, and the broad stream of the Dnieper winding its way for miles over the plain; and in the streets and windows of the houses near the church were to be seen dense crowds of worshippers, who testified to their devotion by repeatedly bowing and crossing themselves, and, when near enough, joining in the singing of the choir. The service concluded by the singing of *Nunc Dimittis* in front of the west entrance, this canticle occupying in the Eastern Church (as formerly in the West) the position assigned to *Magnificat* in the Roman Vespers, and the latter being still sung at Mattins.

As soon as this service was over we drove to the Lavra, a great monastery of Kieff, which contains altogether rather over 1,000 monks. Here Vespers were already over, and Mattins, which on great feasts is sung immediately after Vespers, instead of at the ordinary hour of two o'clock in the night (*not*, be it observed, from motives of laziness, but in order to allow the poor to attend, who, in this country, assist at the choir offices in great numbers) was just beginning. It was with the greatest difficulty that we made our way into the

church, for not only the building itself, but the court in which it stands, was filled with a dense crowd of pilgrims from every part of the empire; and had it not been for the good offices of M. Pobiedonostzeff and M. Sabler, I should never have been able to have got inside the building. This service was more particularly interesting to me, because in the monasteries the ancient Slavonic music is still in use, whereas it has almost disappeared in the cathedrals and parish churches of Russia. It was impossible, on account of the length of the service (more than five hours), and the extreme heat, to remain to the end, and at about half-past ten we left the church.

The monastery court in the moonlight presented a most impressive spectacle. In every part of the vast space there were dense masses of pilgrims who were unable to find room in the church, some joining in the service from outside, others lying all about on the pavement and grass, taking their night's rest. Many of these pilgrims had come from Siberia, and even from the shores of the Pacific, the whole way on foot, to pass a fortnight at this great centre of Russian Christianity, and when one comes to consider that it is quite a common thing for there to be 200,000 pilgrims in the year at this monastery alone, one begins to have some faint notion of the hold which the Orthodox Church has upon the Russian people.

The following day—the day of the festival—the town at an early hour presented a most animated appearance. The streets, which were brilliantly decorated with flags, were crowded with people, all in holiday array, and all the bells of the numerous churches were ringing. I made my way to the Church of St. Sophia at 8 o'clock, the hour at which the liturgy was to be celebrated; and was kindly given a place by M. Pobiedonostzeff in the procession of clergy and laity which met the Metropolitan Platon who was to pontificate on this great occasion at the entrance to the cathedral precinct, and conducted him to his throne in the nave under the great central dome of the church, where he was solemnly vested in his pontifical robes by the attendant Bishops and clergy, and then conducted to the sanctuary, to begin the liturgy. It is

impossible adequately to describe the grandeur of the service. St. Sophia, though small as compared to most of our Western cathedrals, is one of the most beautiful churches in Russia, and was built in the 11th century in imitation of its more famous namesake at Constantinople. There is a great deal of beautiful ancient mosaic work, including a superb figure of the Mother of God in the great central apse, and the *iconostasis* covered with venerable *icons*, each adorned by almost priceless silver and gold work, and studded with innumerable gems, yields to none which I have yet seen in richness and beauty; and, what with the unrivalled splendour of the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the number of the ecclesiastics in their gorgeous cloth of gold vestments, the innumerable tapers burning round the altar or before the various pictures and shrines, the incense, the solemn chanting of the clergy in the sanctuary and the excellent singing of the unaccompanied choir, and the brilliant uniforms worn by many of the assembled congregation, it is impossible to imagine a more solemn or impressive function.

The liturgy being ended, the Metropolitan Michael of Servia[1] took the place of the Metropolitan Platon, whose extreme age prevented him from undergoing any further fatigue, and the procession started from the cathedral to the Dnieper. The road lay for nearly two miles through some of the principal streets of the town, which were lined all the way with troops who often had the greatest difficulty in preventing the thronging crowd from breaking through the line, so anxious were they to accompany the procession and assist at the solemn benediction of the waters, where just nine centuries ago their forefathers had received the grace of baptism. Words cannot describe the splendour of the scene, as between lines of troops, and to the solemn strains of several military bands stationed at intervals along the line, the procession made its way down the winding road which leads from the upper town to the

[1] I met this prelate at Mount Athos in 1883, when he had been dispossessed of his see by King Milan. He returned to Servia and to his see (to which he had been appointed in 1859) and died, after an eventful life, in 1898. He had been educated in the University of Kieff.—[A.R.]

river; the rich vestments and jewelled mitres of Bishops and Archimandrites glittering in the rays of the midday sun amidst the magnificent silver-gilt banners, which had been presented on the occasion by various Russian townships. Nor will it be easy soon to forget the enthusiasm of the crowd, which literally covered the green slopes of the hill wherever it was possible to get a glimpse of the procession as it passed; it was plain that they had come together not for the sake of witnessing a pageant, or from motives of curiosity, but in order religiously to take part in the rejoicings on the occasion of this great festival of their Church and Nation. After the procession followed a great banquet, given by the Mayor of Kieff. As I have already occupied too much of your valuable space, I will not describe the various speeches, except to mention that few of the toasts were more enthusiastically received than when his Excellency the Proctor of the Holy Synod rose to propose the health of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The toast was received with a storm of applause, and after it was drunk the Metropolitan again assured me, as an Englishman, of the pleasure and gratification that His Grace's letter had given him, and how his expressions of sympathy would be appreciated throughout the Russian Church. It will be the wish of every earnest Churchman that this friendly exchange of courtesy between the principal representatives of the Russian and English Churches may be the forerunner of still closer relations between the two great national communions in time to come.

CRACOW, *August* 5.

July 15 (O.S.), 1888, will be a day for ever memorable in Russia, on account of the celebration at Kieff of the 900th anniversary of the conversion of the nation to Christianity. On that day, 900 years ago, the subjects of St. Vladimir were baptised in the waters of the Dnieper, and thus the foundations were laid of that great Church which now extends its jurisdiction from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and from the shores of the Baltic to the easternmost point of Asia. It is not, however, only on account of the fact that from this small

beginning a National Church now containing some 70,000,000 of souls, and likely at no distant future to contain double this number, has grown, that this festival ought to evoke feelings of interest and sympathy amongst English Churchmen, but also on account of the letter which the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the Metropolitan of Kieff congratulating him and the Russian Church on the occasion. I think, therefore, that some of your readers may like to see a description of the principal features of the celebration by an eye-witness, who, thanks to the kindness of M. Pobiedonostzeff, the Proctor of the Holy Synod, and his assistant, M. Sabler, was given the best opportunities of seeing and hearing all the various ceremonies and speeches of the occasion.

I will begin by describing the delivery of the various addresses of congratulation which took place on Thursday, the day before the festival itself, in the great hall of the Theological Academy, which is one of the three principal centres of ecclesiastical learning in Russia, which are attached to each of the three lavras or principal monasteries of the Russian Church. The hall, the walls of which are covered with portraits of various eminent men educated in the Academy, amongst which the white head-dress and veil peculiar to the rank of Metropolitan is of frequent occurrence, was crowded by those who had been fortunate enough to obtain tickets; and, what with the uniforms of the various officers and functionaries, and the picturesque robes of the numerous Bishops and other ecclesiastics, presented a most striking and brilliant spectacle. At eleven o'clock proceedings commenced by the singing of a hymn in honour of St. Vladimir, while the venerable Metropolitan entered the hall and took his place in front of the portrait of the Emperor, in the middle of the hall, with M. Pobiedonostzeff and the Metropolitans of Servia and Montenegro on his right, and the Governor-General of Kieff, General Dreutchi on his left. The choir having ended, one of the professors of the Academy delivered an address, tracing the history of the Russian Church from the conversion of St. Vladimir, and describing in eloquent terms its growth and

progress, and the dangers and vicissitudes which it, together with the Russian nation, had undergone. After the singing of another hymn, the addresses of congratulation were read, first by the Metropolitans of Servia and Montenegro, then by a Greek Archimandrite, as representing the Church of Greece. After which came the representatives of the more important of the Russian dioceses and public bodies. On account of the great age (eighty-five years) of the Metropolitan of Kieff, the greater part of these addresses were not personally delivered, but were left on a table under the Emperor's portrait in front of the Metropolitan, together with various presents in the shape of valuable books and *icons* which some of the deputation had brought. But before proceedings were ended M. Pobiedonostzeff, rising from his seat, said that there was one document more which must be read, namely, the letter of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. His Excellency then proceeded to read the letter aloud, translating it into Russian, so that all might understand its contents. In it his Grace, after congratulating the Metropolitan of Kieff, and expressing his sympathy and good-will towards the Bishops, clergy, and laity of the Russian Church, regretted that it had been impossible, owing to the Lambeth Conference, for him to be represented by an Anglican Bishop, and after pointing out that the two National Churches had common enemies to defend themselves against, and the same holy faith, as handed down by the Apostles and ancient Fathers of the Catholic Church, to preserve intact, both from Papal aggressiveness, and also from teachers of new and strange doctrines, and that by mutual sympathy and prayer for unity we may help and encourage one another, ended by a prayer for the unity of all men in the faith of the Gospel as expounded by the Œcumenical Councils of the undivided Church of Christ. At the conclusion of the reading of the Archbishop's letter, which was listened to with the greatest attention and interest by all present, and with frequent signs of approval and pleasure on the part of the Metropolitan, M. Pobiedonostzeff, in the absence of any official representative of the English Primate (the English

chaplain at Cronstadt, who was to have taken the letter to Kieff having been unfortunately, at the last minute, prevented by illness from taking so long a journey) presented me as an English visitor to his Grace, who in a few well-chosen words expressed his appreciation of our Primate's letter, and of the kindly sympathy therein expressed for the Russian Church, and assured me that he would lose no time in replying to it. The Russian National Anthem was then sung, and we all adjourned to a luncheon in the refectory of the Academy. From the frequent references made during this meal to the Archbishop's letter, it was evident that it had made a profound impression upon all who had heard it, and that it had given great satisfaction after the refusal, on political grounds, of several of the Eastern Orthodox Churches to take part in these rejoicings, that the Primate of the English Church, leaving out of sight the past and possible future political antagonism between the two nations, should, alone among the Churches of Western Christendom, have come forward, and, recognising the importance to the Universal Church of the event which brought the Russian Empire into the great Christian polity, should, in the words of his own letter, have remembered 'the commandment of the Blessed Apostle "to rejoice with them that do rejoice"'. This was regarded as a peculiarly happy feature in the day's proceedings, and I was assured on all sides that his Grace's action was fully appreciated.

Political relations between Russia and England were very different at that time from what they have since become. There was, indeed, great suspicion and jealousy in 1888 between the two countries, and the fact that of all Western Churches the English Church alone had taken any notice of the Kieff festival made, as Birkbeck says, "a profound impression". It was acknowledged by the following important letter from the Metropolitan of Kieff, which reached Lambeth in October.

(*Translation.*)

To His Beloved Brother in Christ, Edward, the Most Renowned Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, the Humble Platon, by Divine Mercy Metropolitan of Kieff and Galicia, Sendeth Greeting in the Lord.

First of all I offer you, beloved Brother, sincere thanks on behalf both of myself and of all the Russians that were at Kieff at the Celebration of the 900th Anniversary of the Baptism of Russia into the Christian Faith, for your loving letter of congratulation upon that occasion. That letter was extremely gratifying to us, not only in itself, on account of the spirit of Christian faith and love in which it was expressed, but also because that of all the heads of the Western Churches none other has sent us a similar greeting.

Your Grace rightly says that Russia is indebted for her power and the position which she holds amongst Christian nations, not only to the wisdom of her rulers and the inborn strength of her people, but also to the fact that our branch of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church has grown up together with our nation, and that the Christian faith has illuminated it through nine long centuries of history. Yes, the Orthodox Faith of Christ, professed by our Holy Church, has indeed hitherto had a great and most blessed influence upon the destinies of Russia. By it the Lord gives strength unto our Most Religious and Gracious Sovereigns; it enables our Christ-loving soldiery to overcome the hosts of their enemies; and it arouses in every Orthodox Russian that spirit of self-denial which makes him ready to sacrifice all, even life itself, for his Faith, Tsar, and Fatherland.

I entirely agree with you that the Russian and English Churches have the common foes of which you speak in your letter to me, and that we ought together with you to contend against them, mutually encouraging and supporting one another; but for this it is indispensable that your and our Churches should enter into a more complete spiritual union with one another. Our Church sincerely desires such a union,

for at each one of her services she intreats the Lord "for the peace of all the world, for the welfare of the Holy Churches of God, and for the union of them all"; but, if you also, as appears from your letter, desire that we may be one with you ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, I beg you to communicate to me distinctly and definitely *upon what conditions you consider the union of your and our Churches would be possible.*

Together with you fervently entreating the Lord, that by His grace He may dispose all men to come into the unity of the Faith and of the Knowledge of the Son of God, and heartily praying that He may preserve you and all England under His protection in perfect prosperity.

With deep respect, I remain,
Your most devoted servant and brother in the Lord.

PLATON,
Metropolitan of Kieff and Galicia.

Pecherskija Lavra, Kieff,
Sept. 14, 1888.

So pointed an inquiry was certainly not expected by Archbishop Benson, but it was an inquiry which could not be neglected. A reply was approved by the Bishops of England and despatched on March 5, 1889. It took the following form :—

"His Reverence (the Reverend Eugene Smirnoff, Chaplain to the Russian Embassy) also delivered to me at the same time a copy of the speech which His Excellency the Imperial Chief Procurator delivered before a vast assembly of Russian Churchmen expressing in warm terms that sense of Christian fellowship towards our English Church and Churchmen which animated the heart of the Leaders of Clergy and people in your Holy Church.

Your own expressions as well as those of M. Pobiedoñostzeff call for the most lively recognition and for devout thankfulness. They assure us that we receive alike the common hope which inspires, and the unrighteous pretensions which would blight,

the desire for true Catholic union among the world-dispersed members of Christ. That is a glorious vision whose fulfilment depends on the sincerity of believers and on their living unity with their one Head.

I confess that I was scarcely prepared to expect an inquiry so direct as you propose to me, and my whole heart goes out in answer to it, as if the consummation we long for must be nearer than we believed.

Your Holiness invites me to express to you 'what are the conditions under which I find it possible to unite our Churches'.

In considering what answer I ought to return to this most important question—no question more important has been asked for centuries—I arrive at the conclusion that two things are essential to a real union:—

1. First and above all, the drawing together of the hearts of the individuals composing the two Churches which would fain 'be at one together'.
2. Secondly, a more or less formal acceptance of each other's position with toleration for any points of difference: non-interference with each other upon any such points.

1. As to the first of these two conditions, among Christian worshippers it resolves itself into this question—Would the two Churches of Russia and of England be willing each to admit the Clergy and the Faithful Laity of the other, as individuals, to be partakers of the Holy Communion even as they allow their own children to partake of that Feast of Love upon their Lord's Sacrifice?

2. The second point would require much longer consideration: but if the first was acknowledged and acted upon there would exist a basis of practical unity on which might be built the more formal structure.

Two questions seem to present themselves here:—

(*a*) Would the two Churches mutually acknowledge the historic verity and reality of each other's Holy Orders?

As a contribution to the settlement of this question from the English side, I shall do myself the honour shortly of con-

signing to your Holiness four Works [1] which will present in due form, with the necessary historical evidence, the proof of the authenticity and continuity of the Holy Orders of the Church of England. These works I commend to those Scholars and Divines of your Holiness' Communion who may not yet have given their attention to the subject. And I would ask your Holiness in return to communicate to us some authentic account of the corresponding history and evidences of the Church of Russia.

(*b*) With regard to the non-interference with such points of difference as are, however great their intrinsic importance, of less moment than the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Faith and thirst after the Righteousness of Christ, there is one which can scarcely be passed over in honesty, namely, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life. But we do not doubt that a formula of agreement on this question might be arrived at, drawn from the Fathers of the Church which are reverenced both by ourselves and the Eastern Church.

The consideration of the paragraphs numbered 2 (*a*), 2 (*b*) must necessarily be postponed for examination. It is not possible that your Holiness should give, or that I should expect, an immediate answer.

But if in the meantime the hearts of Christ's faithful people should be so drawn together that in scattered folds the Unity of the one Flock under one Shepherd should be acknowledged and acted upon in the admission of Faithful Members to Communion with one another and with Him, He would, we believe, in His time work out for us both spiritual and intellectual approaches.

I would therefore shortly outline an answer to your Holiness' inquiry by saying that I should understand that the first step would be the admission of religious believers to Holy Communion in either Church. And that the second step would

[1] The books sent were (1) *Episcopal Succession in England* (Stubbs); (2) *Validity of English Orders* (Courayer); (3) *Apostolic Succession* (Haddan); (4) *Ordinationum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Defensio* (Bailey).

be the serious consideration (taking abundant time for the purpose) of whether any impediments, disciplinary or doctrinal, exist, which still render necessary the formal separation in which for strange reasons we find ourselves placed."

Nobody who had first-hand knowledge of the Eastern Church had been consulted in the drawing up of this document; it was wholly the work of the English Episcopate and its defects are obvious. The suggestion that Communion *in sacris* should come before unity of doctrine would seem to the Easterns to imply an insufficient sense of the importance of faith.[1] So, too, the question of the "verity and reality" of each other's Holy Orders was, from an Eastern point of view, raised prematurely. Still, the reply revealed things as they were; it exposed real difficulties. The time was not ripe for consideration of the basis of union, and Archbishop Benson had learnt this when he wrote to the Bishop of Winchester in 1896 to the effect that personal intercourse with the Easterns would "help those good feelings to strengthen themselves, on which more may be built hereafter". How Birkbeck laid those foundations stone by stone we shall see as we proceed. He, at least, was under no illusion as to the careful and patient labour needed before union could be profitably discussed.

[1] On this subject see Birkbeck's trenchant criticisms in his essay on *The Prospect of Reunion with Eastern Christendom* (Chapter VII. page 93).

CHAPTER II.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF ARCHANGEL.

After the visit to Kieff, Birkbeck took up the study of Russia and the Russian Church which was to remain his absorbing interest to the end. He now set to work to learn Russian and Slavonic—the old ecclesiastical language—and every year saw him in some part of the Russian Empire. In 1889 we were in Petrograd together and paid an interesting visit to Great Novgorod. By that time he could carry on a conversation in Russian fairly well. He introduced me that year to Constantine Pobiedonostzeff, the remarkable man who was then Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, and the most prominent figure in Russian politics. Birkbeck maintained a close friendship with him until his death in 1907. The following articles were the result of Birkbeck's journey in the North of Russia in the summer of 1889.

I.

There are few dioceses in Christendom which present so many features of interest as the diocese of Archangel and Kholmogory, which is the northernmost Episcopal see of Europe, and indeed of the whole world. It includes the whole of the vast government of Archangel, which stretches from the Norwegian frontier to the Ural Mountains, and is, as far as territory is concerned, the largest government of European

Russia, extending over an area twice as large as the kingdom of Prussia.

The northern governments of Russia were for the most part colonised from Novgorod the Great by settlements planted amongst the Lapps and Samojeds for trading purposes; but the honour of bringing these distant regions under the dominion of the Cross undoubtedly is due to Muscovite missionaries, and more especially the disciples of St. Sergius, the founder of the celebrated Monastery of Troitza, near Moscow. It is impossible to overestimate the part that monasticism has played in the colonisation of this part of Russia. Both Kholmogory and Archangel itself grew up round the walls of monasteries, while the great Solovetzki monastery in the White Sea has for the last 400 years been the chief centre of Christianity and civilisation in these parts. Indeed, the work of monasticism is still being vigorously carried on in these districts at the present day. It was only a few years back that a colony from Solovetzki refounded the monastery of Pechenski[1] in the very north of Lapland, not far from the Norwegian frontier, in order to provide a centre of enlightenment for the nomad tribes of Lapps in those parts; while in the year 1887 the monastery of St. Nicholas on the White Sea, close to the mouth of the Dwina, sent a monk, Jonah by name, together with a lay brother, to the island of Novaja Zemlja, in order to provide for the spiritual wants of the fifty inhabitants of this distant outpost of the Russian Empire. Though all of them members of the Orthodox Church, the natives had before this to depend upon such chance visits during the summer as the Bishop of Archangel could provide for, and it was seldom that they saw a priest more than once in the year. Now, thanks to the self-denying devotion of Father Jonah—for it requires some zeal and courage to spend a winter in Novaja Zemlja—these poor fishermen have their permanent church and regular religious ministrations throughout the year. Father Jonah started from the monastery of St. Nicholas on August 30, 1887, taking with him service books,

[1] This monastery was destroyed by the Swedes in the sixteenth century.

altar vessels, vestments, censers, and all other requirements for the Church services, as well as a large supply of elementary books of instruction provided by the Diocesan Board of Education, in order to teach the inhabitants to read and write, together with many copies of the four Gospels in Russian and some lives of the saints. He arrived at his destination on September 4, and was received with the greatest joy and enthusiasm by the inhabitants, more especially when they heard that he was going to pass the winter with them. He landed in full priestly vestments, carrying the picture of St. Nicholas, the patron of the monastery which had sent this Mission. He was met by the inhabitants with bread and salt, and immediately proceeded to choose out a place on which to build the new church. The summer is short in these northern districts, and there was no time to be lost, so all the inhabitants set to work with right good will to build a church before winter set in. And thus it was that the northernmost church in Europe was dedicated to God on October 1, 1887. The monastic community has since then been increased, and there are now two churches in the island.

The total number of monastic establishments in the diocese, not including the great Solovetzki monastery, which is one of the seven Stavropigial communities of Russia (that is to say, it is independent of episcopal control, and subject only to the Holy Synod), is eleven, two of which are convents for women. These latter contain in all rather over seventy nuns and thirty lay sisters, while the nine monasteries contain about 120 monks and thirty lay brothers.

The parochial organisation of the diocese has always been a great difficulty, owing to the scattered distribution of the scanty population over the vast extent of territory which it includes. The Orthodox population of the diocese numbers about 350,000 of both sexes, and for these there are 279 parishes served by 302 priests, 21 deacons, and 295 lay-readers. These latter are, of course, licensed by the Bishop, and their duty is to lead the choir and to read the epistle at the liturgy and the lections at the choir offices. When I was at Archangel

the Bishop showed me a map of his diocese, from which it appeared that nearly all the parishes are either on the coast or else close to one or other of the large rivers which flow to the sea through this government, and he told me that one of his chief wants was a small steamboat, by means of which he could go on visitation tours through the more distant parts of his diocese, especially along the river Pechora, in the eastern part of the government, which is almost inaccessible by land, but where at the present time there is a great deal of work to be done, both amongst the "Old Believers," who are very numerous in that part of the diocese, and also amongst the half-savage Samojed tribes. Since Bishop Nathaniel has occupied the see the parish churches on the Pechora have been increased from two to twenty-three, but there is still much missionary work to be done in this district, especially amongst the Samojeds. These latter are being gradually civilised by means of the Church, their children being brought to the diocesan schools at Archangel, where they are taught the Russian language and the Christian faith, together with some of the elementary lessons of civilisation—such, for instance, as to eat bread, and to cook their meat instead of eating it raw, and not to drink the blood of the animals they slaughter. The chief difficulty in civilising and Christianising them consists in the nomad life which they lead, wandering about the vast *tundras* with their herds of reindeer all the summer, and forming encampments for the winter which may very likely be miles away from any parish church, so that it is extremely difficult to keep them under Christian influences.

Of late years great efforts have been made to provide parochial libraries connected with the parish churches throughout Russia, in order to raise the standard of religious education in the villages. The diocese of Archangel has been no exception to the rule, and there are now 140 parishes which have been provided with a suitable collection of books for the use of the parishioners, and every year sees an addition to their number. Another extremely useful measure taken by the Holy Synod must not be passed by unmentioned. In 1888

an official weekly paper was started, entitled the *Tzerkovnija Védomosti*, or *Ecclesiastical Gazette*. This paper, besides publishing an official report of all the acts of the Holy Synod, gives an account of the ecclesiastical news of the week, together with reports of Mission work, the consecration of new churches, new theological publications, etc. A weekly periodical of this kind would be useful anywhere, and it is especially so in a diocese like Archangel, so far removed from the centres of national life. Very few of the parochial clergy in this distant part of the empire have ever been beyond the confines of their own government, and yet I have come across parish priests on the shores of the White Sea who, although living the life of the ordinary peasant, are able to discuss contemporary ecclesiastical events in the Balkan peninsula, the prospects of the Russian Mission in Japan, the religious difficulties in Poland and the Baltic provinces, and in fact any matter which affects the Orthodox Church; and when one comes to inquire where it was that they obtained their information, it generally turns out that they have obtained it from the *Tzerkovnija Védomosti*.

As in all the other Russian dioceses, the clergy receive their ecclesiastical training in a diocesan seminary. At the present time there are between ninety and one hundred students in the Archangel seminary. Their course lasts for four years, after which, if they have passed their examination, they are allowed, provided the Bishop's licence be obtained, to preach in the parish churches even before they are admitted to holy orders. I may say in passing that however true it may have been a few years ago, the neglect of preaching with which one constantly sees the Russian Church reproached is nowadays a most unfair charge. The ecclesiastical authorities are taking the greatest pains in the matter, and it is very seldom that one finds a young priest who does not preach on Sunday at the Liturgy, while the elder clergy, who were not trained for the purpose, often read a short homily upon the Gospel for the day out of the works of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, or another of the Fathers. While travelling in this diocese I passed two

Sundays in the country and one in Archangel itself. In the latter and in one of the villages there was a sermon, while in the other case a homily was read in its place. In districts where the Old Believers[1] are plentiful homilies are found to be more useful, as provided that they be read from a book printed in old Slavonic letters these Dissenters will listen to the writings of the Fathers, but will not pay the slightest heed to a sermon written in ordinary MS. by a priest of the State Church, which they consider to be under the dominion of Antichrist!

While I was staying at Archangel I spent an evening with a priest who holds the appointment of diocesan missioner to the Old Believers, and he told me many interesting anecdotes of his conferences with the various sectaries which may be included under this category. Their differences with the Russian Church, as is well known, consist entirely in ritual *minutiae*, such as whether the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers or three, and how certain words should be spelt in the service-books. On paper these differences appear to be the merest trifles, but when one penetrates a little below the surface it becomes evident that the whole principle of the living authority of the Church is involved in them. English and Russian Dissent have at first sight little in common with one another, and I am quite sure that no Methodist or Quaker, if he chanced to visit a chapel belonging to one of the sects of the Old Believers, would feel himself at home amidst the icons and incense and elaborate ceremonial of the Russian Raskolniki. And yet there is much in common between the Russian and English type of Dissent. Both alike, albeit upon different grounds, deny that "the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith," both alike in consequence of this, however much the one may appeal to the Scriptures and the other to

[1] These are the Russian dissenters (*raskolniki*) who broke off from the Church owing to their refusal to accept the liturgical reforms of the Patriarch Nikon in the seventeenth century. Some were reunited to the Church in the nineteenth century.—[A.R.]

the tradition of the Church, are obliged to fall back upon the right of private judgment, as is exemplified in the fact that the Raskol, no less than English Dissent, has split up into numberless rival sects, many of which are named after their founders. In this respect our Wesleyans, Irvingites, and Huntingdonians find their Russian counterpart in the Philipofftzi, Theodosjúfftzi, etc. Even in the matter of the Royal supremacy the Russian Dissenters take the same impractical view of the right relations between Church and State which characterises some Nonconformist sects of this country. They persistently refuse to recognise the fact that the Sovereign has never claimed for himself the right to settle matters purely spiritual, and they are ready to see the mark of the Beast or the sign of Antichrist in any act of the civil power, however legitimate, which can by any ingenuity of argument be made to appear to encroach upon the sphere of religion. A conversation which I had with one of these sectaries will best illustrate the attitude of the Russian Raskol (schism) towards the Church and Government of the country. One of the signs, he told me, that Antichrist had acquired the mastery over Church and State was that the Government had altered New Year's Day from September 1 to January 1. It was quite useless representing to him that the Church Calendar still begins with September, and that it is only the civil New Year which commences with January. He retorted that this change, introduced by Peter the Great, was obviously contrary to Scripture, for the world must have been created in September, otherwise there would have been no apples ripe for Eve to eat! "But surely it is quite possible that Eve may have eaten the apple in September, and yet have been created in January or any other month in the year," said I, thinking that I had suggested a most reasonable way out of the difficulty. "No," said my friend, "the world was created in six days, and God created light on Sunday, the 1st of September, and Adam and Eve on Friday, the 6th, and rested from His work on the Sabbath. On Sunday, September 8, Eve tasted of the apple, and gave it to Adam: this is why the most holy Mother of

God, the second Eve, was born on September 8." This is a very fair specimen of the style of argument used by the Old Believers, and it is often quite astonishing with what ingenuity and earnestness they will defend their peculiar tenets, which, trifling as they may appear to us Westerns, are looked upon by them as matters of life and death.

Although the Raskol is now not so strong in this part of Russia as formerly, it has played a most important part in the past history of the government of Archangel. The sect of the Pomortzi, one of the largest bodies of the Old Believers, took its name from the western coast (*pomorie*) of the White Sea, where it first sprang into existence, with its headquarters at the monastery of Lake Vyg, about fifty miles to the south; while at the very beginning of the schism the monastery of Solovetzki itself fell into the hands of the adherents of the old service-books, and stood a siege of ten years against the troops of the Tzar Alexis, before it would admit the reforms of Nikon [1] within its walls. At present, however, these sects are not so numerous in this part of Russia as they used to be, while except in isolated cases on the Finland frontier there is no Protestant propagandism of any kind. The Lutherans have a church in Archangel, but it is used exclusively by the German residents, and the same is the case with the small Roman Catholic chapel which has been erected for a few Polish exiles who have been sent to this distant government.

II.

DURING four days of the seven which I spent at Archangel last summer I enjoyed the hospitality of Bishop Nathaniel, who spared no pains in giving me every kind of information concerning his diocese, and in explaining to me its practical working. He took me to see the principal churches of the town, including the cathedral, a fine church in the very centre of the town close to the river, which contains some interesting relics of Peter the Great's visit in 1702 to Archangel, which

[1] The greatest of the Russian Patriarchs. He reigned at Moscow 1653-1660 and died in 1681.—[A.R.]

was then Russia's only seaport. Amongst them is a large wooden cross, carved by his own hands during his stay in the place. Another day he showed me all over the monastery of St. Michael, from which the town takes its name, and which contains a fine church dating from the end of the sixteenth century. This monastery is situated at the extreme southern end of the town, and, with its gold domes reflected in the water and the long quays crowded with shipping in the background, adds greatly to the beauty of Archangel on approaching it from the Dwina. The Episcopal residence is nominally in this monastery, but, finding the building set apart for this purpose too large for his requirements, the Bishop has handed it over to the monks for their school, and has moved into smaller quarters nearer the centre of the town.

The Sunday which I spent at Archangel happened to be the Feast of the Transfiguration, one of the twelve principal festivals of the Orthodox Church. On the Saturday evening I went with the Bishop to the cathedral to the "all-night" service, which consists of vespers followed by matins, and though happily it belied its name and only lasted three hours, it is a somewhat exhausting service for anyone who is accustomed to our shorter Western forms, especially as one has to stand all the time. The next morning the Bishop took me to the large Church of the Transfiguration, which is the principal church on the island of Solombal, the commercial quarter of Archangel. This church was founded by Peter the Great, and finished in the reign of Catherine II, and, though a fine building in its way, is built in the somewhat unecclesiastical style then in fashion, and consequently is not so interesting as the cathedral. When we arrived the church was already crowded from one end to another, the congregation consisting chiefly of the workmen from the various factories and sawmills of this quarter of the town. A sermon followed the liturgy, preached by a young student who had just finished his seminary course, and was soon to be ordained; and then came a procession round the outside of the church, followed by the whole congregation.

I may say in passing that the festival processions in the Eastern Church take a different direction to those of Latin Christendom. The latter always follow the course of the sun, no doubt in allusion to Ps. xix. 5, 6, as mystically applied to our Lord's life upon earth from His Nativity to His Ascension, and thus the procession symbolises the Church following in His footsteps. The processions of the Orthodox Church, on the contrary, go to *meet* the sun, symbolising thereby that the Church goes forth to meet our Lord, Whose first coming was in the East, and Whose second coming shall be "as the lightning which cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west".

After the procession we adjourned to the house of Mr. Teljateff, one of the principal merchants residing on the island of Solombal, who had invited the Bishop, together with some of the leading Archangel ecclesiastics and merchants, to dinner on this occasion. This banquet consisted entirely of *maigre* dishes, because the Bishops in the Eastern Church are chosen exclusively from the monastic, or black clergy, and consequently never eat meat. Several of the merchants present were of German origin and Lutheran by religion, but there appeared to be no ill-feeling whatever between them and the Orthodox who were present.

The next day the Bishop told me that he had to go to the monastery of St. Nicholas, to see about the affairs of the Novaja Zemlja Mission, which, as I stated in my last article, was originally sent from there. The hour before we started he spent interviewing some of the clergy of the diocese. It was extremely interesting to hear all the inquiries he made with regard to the state of their parishes. One of these priests, whose living is situated near the boundary of Finland, about fifty miles west of the White Sea, came in for rather a severe reprimand, owing to the appearance amongst his flock of a sort of semi-revivalist, semi-rationalistic sect lately started by a preacher who had dissented from the Lutheran Church of Finland. Father Pavel pleaded in self-defence that the sect had been introduced unbeknown to him. "This," said the

Bishop, "would have been quite impossible, had you looked after your parish properly and not neglected your duty." At the end of the interview, the Bishop gave him his blessing and then walked with him to the door, and as he went out kissed him and said, "*truditesj, truditesj, truditesj*," which, being interpreted, is "work, work, work!"

After this we started on our journey to the monastery of St. Nicholas, situated about thirty miles from Archangel at the mouth of the river. One of the merchants had lent him a small steamer, which had been brought round to the quay just in front of the Bishop's residence. As we walked down to it, followed by the Bishop's deacon and servants carrying provisions for the journey and beds for the night, the workmen and boatmen on the quay took off their hats in all directions, many of them running up to kiss the Bishop's hand, and bringing their children to receive his blessing. We were a long time arriving at our destination owing to the shallowness of this part of the river, the steamer running aground several times; but as soon as we came within sight of the monastery the bells began to ring, and as we made our way towards land all the inmates of the monastery came down to the water's edge in their full robes to meet the Bishop, and formed a most picturesque group as they stood on the landing-stage with candles and incense awaiting his landing. As soon as he stepped on shore they robed him in a gorgeous *mantija* (an Episcopal cloak shaped somewhat like a cope, but looser, and with a long train) of blue and silver brocade, and escorted us with great pomp to the principal church of the monastery, chanting all the while, and then after a short service we were conducted in the same manner all through the monastic buildings and to the other churches. The buildings, which were erected early in the seventeenth century in place of others which were destroyed by the Swedes, are very fine, particularly the principal church, which is entered by two beautiful specimens of the staircase porches which are so characteristic of Russian sixteenth and seventeenth century architecture. The whole monastery is enclosed by an extremely picturesque

wooden wall with eight towers at its angles, surmounted by the curious half-spire and half-dome which one so often meets with in the wooden ecclesiastical edifices in this part of the empire. Although it was now past nine o'clock, the Bishop ordered the carriage and pair belonging to the monastery, and insisted on taking me in the twilight round the monastic farm, which is rather extensive, and then at about ten o'clock we had supper and retired to rest for the night. The next morning at six o'clock I was roused from my slumbers by the church bells, and on dressing found the Bishop's servant waiting outside my room to take me to church as soon as ever I felt inclined. The Bishop, he told me, had got up at half-past four, and after making his preparation for saying the liturgy had bathed in the White Sea, and then had gone to church, where I found him pontificating at matins. The singing was very good, and the whole service was beautifully done, but so extremely long that I had more than once to retire from sheer fatigue before it was finished. The liturgy itself commenced soon after eight o'clock, and the whole service was over a little before ten, by which time I was nearer dead than alive from fatigue and hunger. But the Bishop, although considerably over sixty years of age, seemed to think nothing of his five hours' service upon an empty stomach, to which he was evidently quite accustomed. The Russian Bishops as a rule celebrate the liturgy about three times a week, and habit soon accustoms them as well as the other clergy to these long fasts. After breakfast the prior showed me some of the treasures of the monastery, amongst them a portrait of Lady Martha, the rich noblewoman of Novgorod, who did so much for the colonising and evangelisation of the shores of the White Sea in the fifteenth century. It was here that the bodies of her two sons who were drowned in a storm were buried, and in her legacy to the monastery appear the following words: "I, Martha, the servant of God, have caused to be erected the church of St. Nicholas in this monastery over the graves of my children Antony and Felix". This church, however, is no longer standing, having been burnt by the Swedes, as we have

already seen. Another point about this monastery which should be of special interest to Englishmen is that it was here that Chalonner first discovered the mouth of the Dwina in 1558, and thus laid the foundation of the important White Sea trade between England and Russia. In the earliest English charts what is now the port of Archangel is in consequence marked as the port (or quay) of St. Nicholas.

After the Bishop had settled the matters concerning the Novaja Zemlja Mission for which he had come, we started back, and as it was now high tide the return journey took only four hours. During both journeys the Bishop never ceased either telling me about his own diocese or asking me questions about the English Church, and particularly about our Church schools, a subject in which he appeared to take much interest. He told me how much he regretted that there was no longer an English chaplain at Archangel, to perform duty in the two English churches there, one of which is in Archangel itself, and the other on the island of Solombal.

"There are more sailors from England in Archangel during the summer than from any other foreign nation, and yet they have no priest. Our clergy know no English and can do nothing for them; they cannot understand our service any better than if a *Ksendz* (Roman priest) was reading it to them in Latin. Why does not the Archbishop of Canterbury send some one to them? We would welcome him here."

The fact is that the rich English community which formerly resided in Archangel have all moved now to St. Petersburg, whither the endowments of the English churches have also been transferred.

The next two days were spent in a visit to the English Vice-Consul, Mr. Bartlett Cobb, after which my visit to Archangel came to an end. The evening before my departure I went to take leave of Bishop Nathaniel. As we parted he took off from his neck a beautiful little silver-covered icon of the Blessed Virgin and Child, which he had worn as his *panagía* during our journey to St. Nicholas's monastery, and told me to take it home from him to my youngest son, whose name

is Michael, in memory of my visit to the city named after the great Archangel, bidding me tell him when he grew up that he must not think that there was nothing but white bears to be found in that part of the world. The next day I started at about midday by steamer for Sijski monastery up the Dwina on the way to Moscow, and in less than quarter of an hour nothing was to be seen of Archangel but the golden domes of the monastery of St. Michael blazing in the mid-day sun.

CHAPTER III.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF ARCHANGEL—
(*continued*).

III.

In the Empire of the Tzars all roads lead to Moscow, for is she not the very "heart of Russia"? And yet the journey thither from Archangel is a somewhat arduous undertaking, especially when there is not sufficient water in the Dwina to get by steamer to Vologda, where the railway begins. Last year I could only get 100 miles by river, and had to do the remaining 350 by road. But this I did not regret, as it enabled me to see some curious monasteries seldom visited by foreigners, as well as some of the interesting village life in these parts.

The journey up the Dwina is very uninteresting for the first few hours, until one comes to Kholmogory, which was formerly the seat of the bishopric, and is still of considerable ecclesiastical importance. It contains two large monasteries, one of which, with a very fine church and separate bell-tower, stands close to the river. This is the most populous district of the Archangel Government. The river here breaks up into several wide branches, the banks of which are thickly studded with villages, each with their "summer" and "winter" churches in the same churchyard. At one time I counted no less than fourteen churches in sight at once, nearly all of them built of wood, but extremely picturesque owing to the domes by which they are almost invariably surmounted, more especially the "summer" churches, which are of course the largest and finest, the "winter" churches being built as low and small as possible for the sake of warmth. Fortunately the steamer

stopped for wood at the village of Chukhcheremsk, which enabled me to examine one of the finest specimens of these wooden churches built in the seventeenth century. It is dedicated to the prophet Elijah, and may roughly be described as a copy in wood of the style of the early Romanoff period, which can be seen at its best at Jaroslavl, Kostroma, and throughout the region of the northern Volga, and which, though Byzantine in origin, has so many original features that it may be described as a truly national style. The great feature of the exterior of Chukhcheremsk Church is the roof, which has nine wooden domes, all surmounted by the eight-pointed orthodox cross. The sacred edifice is entered by the usual covered-in staircase (*kryltzo*) leading into the narthex (*pritvor*), which, like in St. Mark's at Venice, extends across the whole west end of the church and half-way round the north and south side, ending in this case on each side in a grill looking on to the iconostasis. The interior was full of beautiful ornaments and pictures, and many of the icons on the iconostasis were, as usual, covered over with silver and studded with precious stones. Russia is almost the only country where the parish churches have never been subjected to legalised plunder, and their wealth helps one to realise the meaning of our own mediæval inventories, and what our churches must have lost in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

At two o'clock in the morning I was roused from my slumbers and told that we had arrived at Sija. The steamer landed me close to a chapel, on what, to my disgust, I found to be the wrong side of the river. The chapel belongs to the neighbouring Sijski Monastery, which is some eight miles from the opposite bank, and a very shaggy-looking lay brother, stationed there for the purpose, ferried three soldiers, an *ispravnik* (local head of police) from the Pechora, and myself and mountains of luggage across the river in a very top-heavy boat, and landed us on a sandy waste with not a house in sight, and more than a mile from the village of Sija. After an almost interminable dawdle two carts arrived from the

village, which conveyed us and our luggage to the village post-house, from which I obtained a tarantass to convey me to Sijski Monastery, some seven miles distant.

The monastery is beautifully situated at the end of a long, narrow tongue of land jutting into a lake, the shores of which are surrounded by low hills covered with pine, fir, and birch forest. The view of it from the road which runs along the edge of the lake is particularly pleasing, with its white stone buildings surmounted by green domes, interspersed with a few fine fir trees, standing in a court surrounded by wooden walls built down to the water, and with an avenue of birch trees leading along the narrow causeway, which connects the monastery with the mainland, up to the picturesque stone gateway surmounted by a church. Here I was received by a young lay brother, who told me that the abbot had heard from the Bishop of Archangel that I was coming, and that rooms were prepared for me. After breakfast I called upon the Archimandrite Antony, a young and energetic-looking man, formerly a member of the white or parish clergy, but who, having lost his wife, was appointed by the Holy Synod at the recommendation of the Bishop to be abbot of this monastery, not altogether, so I heard, to the satisfaction of the community, who would have preferred the election of one of their own number.

The founder of this monastery was St. Antony, a monk from the monastery of the Transfiguration, on the river Ken, in the district of Onega. He settled with six followers on this spot by the lake in the middle of the forest in the year 1520, and ruled the new community until his death, in 1557. His last testament is preserved in the archives of the monastery, and bears his own signature. It was written the year before his death, and is a touching memorial of his simple piety and affection for his spiritual children. After telling them that old age and sickness have overtaken him, and that he feels his end approaching, he commends himself to their prayers, asking them to forgive all the faults which he has committed in the government of the monastery :—

"I have been neither a pastor to you, nor a teacher, for Christ alone is the Good Shepherd, but I, by my sins and folly, have been a scatterer rather than a shepherd of the flock committed to my charge in this holy habitation. But I do not despair of my salvation and have hope in the mercy of God and in your holy prayers. For God hath said: 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance,' and, encouraged by your prayers, I will 'cast my burden upon the Lord'; then may He do unto me as it pleaseth Him, for He 'will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth'. So now I commend my monastery and you to God, to His most pure Mother the Queen of heaven, and St. Sergius, the Wonder-worker, and I appoint as my successor, according to your petition, Father Cyril as Prior, to take care of this holy habitation."

After this come some directions with regard to the property of the monastery and some regulations concerning refractory members of the community, and then the testament concludes as follows:—

"But, above all, have the fear of God in your hearts, and may His Holy Spirit dwell in you and instruct you, and lead you in the paths of truth. And amongst yourselves let there ever be love, and submit yourselves one to another for Christ's sake; so shall the multitude of your sins be blotted out. And take care that ye follow the rules of the community both in spiritual and temporal matters, in your food and in your clothing according to the commands of the holy fathers, nor should the Prior fare better in meat, or drink, or clothing, than the rest of the brethren. Neither should strangers be admitted into the cells of the brotherhood, or intoxicating drinks be brought into the monastery, but ye shall give food to the poor and homeless who come to you, so shall this holy place never be left destitute. None of the brethren, except they be sick, shall remain in the monastery without employment, neither shall ye make the peasants execute your repairs or look after the buildings, but ye shall do these things yourselves, except it be in the cow-yard on the other side of the

lake, which is too distant from the monastery. These instructions I pray of you to follow, and may the mercy of God and the prayers of His most pure Mother and of St. Sergius ever be with you, now and ever and to ages of ages. Amen."

This interesting document gives quite an insight into the spirit of Russian monasticism during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when so many religious houses were founded in the northern parts of the empire. It shows too, although the present buildings date chiefly from the seventeenth century, that in the founder's time, as now, the monastery contained three churches, dedicated respectively to the Holy Trinity, the Annunciation, and St. Sergius. The principal, or "summer," church is a very fine building, and contains in its left-hand corner just outside the iconostasis the shrine of the founder, together with the vestments in which he used to say Mass. The relics themselves lie *pod spudom* (under a bushel); that is to say, they are not exposed to view, but are buried in the floor of the church underneath the shrine, which is a cenotaph, with a picture of the saint on the upper surface encased in the usual silver covering. The "winter" church of the Annunciation opens into the refectory, a very fine oblong room, with a vaulted roof, supported (like in the far larger refectory at Solovetzki, of which it is an evident copy) by an enormous round pillar in the middle. Between the refectory and the principal church, and separated from the shrine of St. Antony in the latter only by a wall, is a chapel where all the abbots are buried. The church of St. Sergius is over the gateway by which the monastery is entered. Besides these buildings there is a fine tower, built in the seventeenth century, containing twenty bells, the largest of which weighs near upon six tons.

Owing to its secluded position, the history of this monastery has been on the whole uneventful, although it has several times been visited by the emperors on their way to Archangel. It has never been besieged by the Swedes or bombarded by the English, like some of the monasteries on the White Sea, and though, like almost every building in Russia, it catches

fire about three times in the course of each century, these conflagrations are not due to the malice of foreigners, but either to lightning or the carelessness of its inmates. Nevertheless Sijski Monastery has played its part in the history of Russia. It was here that Theodore Nikitich Románoff, the father of Michael, the future Tzar, and founder of the present reigning dynasty, was incarcerated in the year 1599 by the Tzar Boris Godunoff, and compelled to take the tonsure under the name Philaret, his wife having been separated from him and sent into a convent. If a letter, still preserved in the monastery, from the Tzar Boris Godunoff can be trusted, it would seem that he took anything but kindly to his enforced religious life, for the Tzar writes to the Prior saying that he hears that Philaret has been neglecting his religious duties and spending his time hunting wild beasts in the forests, and quarrelling with the other monks, breaking into their cells and beating them with a stick, and that all this must cease for the future, that the Prior must insist on his going regularly to confession and communion like the other monks, and not allow him to neglect the choir offices. Moreover, he must not be allowed to see or hold any converse with strangers, but is to be kept within the walls of the monastery, and these latter, if they have in any places fallen into disrepair, are to be mended. This letter is extremely interesting as showing how insecure Boris Godunoff felt his position on the throne to be, owing to his doubtful title, and this doubtless was the real reason that he exhibited such solicitude lest the newly professed monk should be corrupted by intercourse with the secular world. Whether Philaret's insubordination was exaggerated by the Tzar's informant, Bogdan Voscikoff, or not, it is impossible to state ; but it is certain that he became reconciled to the monastic life before he was released from his imprisonment at Sijski by the false Demetrius in 1606, and the community still possess a magnificent MS. copy of the Gospels, beautifully illuminated, which he sent them after he ascended the patriarchal throne of Moscow, in commemoration of the fact that it was there that he began that ecclesiastical career which, how-

ever unwillingly entered upon, was, in the providence of God, to be the saving of Russia, both in Church and State.

After Abbot Antony had shown me all over the monastery, its churches and treasures, he took me up to his quarters, where I found an excellent fish dinner provided for me. He apologised for not dining with me, but said that his rule forbade him to eat fish during the *Gospozhinki*, or "Fast of our Lady," that is to say the fourteen days before 15 August, the Feast of the Repose of the Blessed Virgin. This fast is kept very strictly in the monasteries, and when I was staying at Solovetzki, during the last three days of my visit, no fish, eggs, milk, or butter appeared in the refectory, and I had to content myself with bread, mushrooms, and vegetables of various kinds. But amongst the laity fish is permitted as a rule.

A good many pilgrims on their way to Solovetzki visit this monastery, which is close to where the two main roads from Moscow and St. Petersburg to Archangel unite. They are allowed to stay in the hostelry outside the gate free of charge for a night, and are fed at the expense of the community. No description of the religious life of the country would be complete without making mention of the pilgrims who may be seen on every high-road leading to the great religious centres of the country, trudging along with their brown habits, their pilgrim's staff, a large bundle on their backs, and a tin teapot hanging by a string from their necks. It is often most interesting to talk with them about their long journeys and all their adventures by the way. Many of them have been to Jerusalem at least once in their lives, and in this case their bundle usually contains a shirt which has been dipped in the waters of the Jordan in memory of our Saviour's baptism, which they constantly carry about with them, in order that they may clothe themselves in it when their last hour approaches.

The length of the journeys which they make upon foot is simply astounding. Twice in the Archangel Government I was recognised by pilgrims who had seen me at Kieff the year

before at the celebration of the nine hundredth anniversary of the conversion of Russia, and as it takes six days posting with three horses from Archangel to Vologda, and fifty-seven hours of railway from there to Kieff, it may be imagined that a journey on foot over this distance is no light undertaking. One of the two who had seen me at Kieff told me that he had been to Jerusalem in the meantime, having been treated by a Moscow merchant to a passage from Odessa to Beyrout, whence he had walked to Nazareth and thence to Jerusalem. On his way between the latter places he had been robbed by brigands of all the money he was bringing to the holy places at Jerusalem, but he had been helped by the Russian monks in the Holy Land, and then obtained a ticket through the Russian Palestine Society back to Odessa and by rail to Moscow. From there he had started immediately on foot for Solovetzki. He told me that his home was in the government of Vladimir, and that besides this pilgrimage he had made four to the Troitza monastery, near Moscow, and one to Valaam, on Lake Ladoga, and one to Great Novgorod. This will give some idea of what a Russian pilgrim's life is, and in my opinion they have an enormous influence upon the national life of Russia. I often used to wonder how it was that as a rule the mention of the great capitals of Western Europe conveyed nothing to the peasants in this part of Russia, and when I told them that I lived in London I was often asked some such question as "How many versts is London from Moscow?" and yet that, on the other hand, all of them had heard of Constantinople, and Mount Athos, and Jerusalem. But after travelling on the pilgrim boat between Solovetzki and Archangel and hearing the conversation of the pilgrims the matter was no longer a mystery to me; for the pilgrim is welcome in every village throughout the length and breadth of the land, and everybody is glad to hear the account of his travelling experiences.

IV.

Sunday in a Country Village.

BEFORE leaving St. Petersburg for the White Sea, I had been anxious to find some one to travel with, and had secured the services of Vladimir Joanovich Popoff, a student who had completed his course at the Seminary of Archangel, and having passed all his examinations with distinction, had been sent to the ecclesiastical academy at St. Petersburg for four years before being ordained. His father is parish priest at Zachachevski, a village about fifteen miles from Sijski Monastery, and far too poor to pay the expenses of his son's journey home for the summer holidays. So Vladimir was glad to accompany me on my journey to Solovetzki, as it enabled him to visit his home, which otherwise he could not have done during his four years' course at the academy. Directly I arrived at Archangel I had sent him home to his father's, and arranged to meet him at Sijski Monastery, and his father had invited me to spend a day or two with him before starting for Moscow. This I was very glad to do, as it enabled me to pass a Sunday in a simple country village in this distant part of Russia.

While I was being shown round the monastery at Sijski, Vladimir arrived with his father's tarantass; so after dinner I took leave of Abbot Antony and started in his carriage drawn by three white horses, Father Ivan's tarantass following behind with the luggage. We drove through the forest along the edge of the lake for some way, and should evidently have had some beautiful views of the monastery, had it not been for the sheets of rain which were descending. About four hours' drive brought us to the end of our journey, and we drew up at the parsonage of Zachachevski, where Vladimir's father, Ivan Germanovich Popoff, met us at the door, and gave me a most hearty welcome. He is considerably over sixty years of age, and in his day must have been a very handsome man; even now, though long past the prime of life, he looked the very picture of dignity with his long grey beard and dark purple cassock. I was immediately taken upstairs and introduced to

the rest of the household, which consisted of his sister, Anna Germanovna, who has kept house for him since the death of his wife, his daughter, who is the widow of a priest, and her little girl, who was evidently the spoilt one of the family. The house consisted of four rooms—a sitting-room, containing a table and sofa and a few chairs, and a bookshelf in the corner, with pictures on the walls of the Tzar and Tzarina, the Crucifixion, and scenes from the Passion, the twelve principal feasts of the Church, some views of Moscow, and several photographs of various members of the family. In the corner, with a lamp in front of it, was the icon of the Saviour, and below it a picture of the Holy Virgin and Child, and on each side were pictures of St. Nicholas, patron of the parish, with scenes from his life; and of St. Vladimir, the Apostle of Russia; and St. Alexander Nevski, after whom his two sons are named respectively. On a small table below the icons was a large copy of the Bible in Russian on a table by itself. The other rooms of the house consisted of a second small sitting-room and two bedrooms, all on the same floor; while off the landing at the back of the house was a large storehouse, in which clothes are hung to dry, wood is kept for the stove in winter, and lumber of various kinds is stored away. On the ground floor lives the old nurse of the family, who, needless to say, was delighted to see Vladimir home again.

The village itself, like almost all Russian villages, consists of one long wide street with wooden houses on each side, each of them with roughly carved wooden gables and little white window sashes. In the middle of the village is a large churchyard containing two churches dedicated to St. Nicholas and SS. Zosima and Savvati respectively. The "summer" church of St. Nicholas is a good specimen of the style in vogue in these parts at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is octagonal in form, the roof ascending into an eight-sided spire, surmounted at the top by a small dome. It contains a very beautiful iconostasis extending over three of the eight sides of the church, the centre of which is occupied by some exquisitely carved wooden "royal doors" painted and gilded all

over, with the usual representations of the four Evangelists and the Annunciation painted in small canopied niches in the carving, while in the chord of the arch are suspended two cherubim appropriately suggestive of the Cherubic Hymn which is sung during the Great Entrance. On the left of the Royal Gates there is the usual icon of the Madonna and Child, but on the right-hand side, the position usually occupied by the icon of the Saviour is filled by a very fine icon of Abraham and Sarah entertaining the three angels. This is the ordinary conventional mode in the East of representing in painting the mystery of the Holy Trinity. As in most Russian parish churches, there are many beautiful silver lamps, rich sets of vestments, icons, and other costly offerings which have been made from time to time by the parishioners. Only a year ago one of the peasants who had been in Moscow at the time of the festival of the 900th anniversary of the Conversion of Russia had brought back a beautiful icon of St. Vladimir, which he had bought out of his savings as an offering to his parish church. The "winter" church contains nothing remarkable, and is about to be replaced by a new church built in brick, the walls of which were about half-finished when I was there.

On Saturday afternoon we all went to vespers, after which Father Ivan made Vladimir sit down and write the sermon for next day at the Liturgy. First of all the Gospel for the day was looked out, then pens and paper and ink were produced, and the large Bible brought out from under the icons, and then in order that Vladimir should not be disturbed the priest and I went for a walk round the village, and all amongst the small fields of rye by which it is surrounded. These belong to the village commune, and are apportioned off about once every five years to the various families, according as they are able to cultivate them. It was quite evident by the way the peasants greeted him that Father Ivan was much beloved in his native village, where he had lived his whole life except during the time when he was at the seminary at Archangel, having succeeded his father in the living, and it was very

pleasing to see the simple and kindly relations which evidently existed between him and his flock.

The next morning I was roused from my slumbers by the church bells ringing for matins at five o'clock, but did not arrive myself in church until just before the liturgy commenced at about seven. The church was crowded, the men on the south side and the women on the north, the latter dressed in their bright costumes in which red and white predominated. The music of the service was led by a lay-reader and joined in most heartily by the congregation, whose behaviour throughout the whole service was most devout and attentive. I may here say that the ordinary notion in the West that the Russian peasantry cannot understand the Old Slavonic in which the services are read and sung is quite a delusion. Some parts of the choir offices, it is true, present great difficulties, not only to the peasantry but to the clergy themselves, especially some of the "canons" translated from the Greek, in which the order of the words in the original has been exactly preserved, although in Greek they were written in metre. But no one who has any knowledge of the Russian peasantry would maintain for a moment that the Old Slavonic language in itself is unintelligible to the people. On the contrary, their ordinary conversation is full of expressions culled from the service books; and if a foreigner resides a few weeks amongst the peasantry, he will find on his return to the capital that he has caught many expressions which he will be told belong to the Church language, and which appear to the ordinary resident of St. Petersburg just as stilted and pedantic, as the use of such terms as "dearly beloved brethren" would seem in London society.[1] As for the music in the Russian parish churches, Russia has, like ourselves, gone through a parson-and-clerk-duet period, except that the service has always been sung, and never simply read. But during the last few years immense pains have been taken to make the services more popular, and not only in the country districts, but in the cathedrals, the services have in many cases been much more congregational

[1] This subject is fully discussed in Chapter V.—[A.R.]

than formerly. If anyone is inclined to dispute this statement, let him attend some of the early liturgies at the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg, and judge for himself. I, at least, can answer not only for the church at Zachachevski, but for a good many of the village churches in these northern parts of the empire.

At the end of the liturgy came Vladimir's sermon. As I think that a sermon delivered in this distant part of Christendom may be of interest to many of your readers, I give a translation of it in full:—

Sermon on the Gospel for the Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost. St. Matt. xviii. 23-35.

"In the Gospel which has just been read, my brethren, the Saviour's parable of the 'unmerciful creditor' is put before us. This creditor, immediately after he himself had been forgiven an immense debt by his lord, went to his fellow-servant who was his debtor and began to beat him, demanding the payment of an insignificant debt. What was it that our Lord Jesus Christ, in laying before us this parable, wished to say to us? what was it that He wished us to learn from it? The answer is evident—mercifulness! In the parable we read that a certain King (Tzar)—by which is meant the Lord Himself—had compassion upon His debtor, and forgave him his debt. Yes, my brethren, great indeed is the compassion of God to us sinners! Of His unspeakable mercy the Son of God Himself came down to earth, 'taking upon Himself the form of a servant'; of His tender mercy He as He journeyed from place to place in Palestine, satisfied the hungry, healed the sick, opened the eyes of the blind, raised the dead to life, and at last was nailed for us to the Cross, as if He had been the most infamous of men. And all this for us sinners, us reprobates! All this He underwent because of His infinite love for us! So 'gracious,' as the Psalmist David says, 'and merciful is the Lord, long suffering and of great goodness,' nor can any words express the greatness of His love for us. This is the reason why Christ loved so often to repeat that 'He came into the

world not to destroy, but to save that which was lost,' to deliver sinful men. This is why He preached to us, 'Be ye therefore merciful, even as your Father in heaven is merciful'. This is why He says to us, 'If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses'. And when on one occasion the Apostle Peter asked of our Lord, 'How oft shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him—till seven times?' the Lord answered him, 'I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven,' by which He meant that we should always forgive all injuries, that we should constantly be merciful without any exception. And shall not we, my brethren, obey Him? Is it possible for us to refuse to listen to the Lord, Who calls upon us to be merciful? No, my brethren, God forbid that it should be so.

"But some may say, In what particular respects are we bound to show mercy? The answer to this question we may find in the words of Jesus Christ Himself, which He speaks concerning His dread coming to judge the quick and the dead, and saith unto the just, 'I was an hungred, and ye gave Me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me in; naked, and ye clothed Me; I was sick, and ye visited Me; I was in prison, and ye came unto Me'. These, brethren, are the works of love and mercy, which we have to fulfil in order to make our life worthy of the Christian calling. But this is not all. Far from it. Our mercy must extend itself even to our enemies. The Lord distinctly says, 'If ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same. And if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those which love them. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again. But love ye your enemies, and do good and lend, hoping for nothing again' (Luke vi. 32-35). Here you may see, my brethren, how great our merciful loving kindness ought to be towards our neighbours. Then also our reward will be great, for the Lord goes on to say, 'your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of

the Highest' (Luke vi. 35). 'Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy' (Matt. v. 7). So great, my brethren, is the recompense for mercy. On the other hand, Woe unto you who deal unmercifully and grievously with your neighbours! Remember in the parable which we have heard read to-day what the Tzar did to the unmerciful creditor: he delivered him over to the tormentors, and commanded that he should be beaten, until he should pay all that was due to him. 'So likewise,' says the Saviour, 'shall My Heavenly Father do also unto you if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses' (Matt. xviii. 35).

"My dear Christian brethren, be ye likewise merciful to your neighbours! Let us, every one of us, each according to his powers, render them our best service. Let us obey the command of our Lord, Who so often hath manifested His love to us, Who hath clothed us, and fed us. Let us bear in mind the example of the holy Philaret,[1] whose memory we keep on December 1, who on account of his wonderful practice of this virtue has received the title of 'the Merciful'. This blessed man, when he himself had come to the uttermost extreme of poverty, never ceased to assist the poor, giving away to them his last ox. And for this the Lord granted him salvation. May He give us grace to follow his good example!

"The precept of charity and mercy is the greatest of all; in it is contained the sum and substance of Christian virtue. Wherefore it is indispensable for us to fulfil it in holiness. If we fulfil this great commandment, then the Lord also will have mercy upon us, will forgive us our sins, great as they are, and will give us His blessing in His heavenly kingdom. Amen."

This was Vladimir's sermon, which was listened to with the greatest attention by the village peasants, who had known him from his childhood, and of course were interested in his progress at the St. Petersburg Academy. Many points in it may seem strange to us, but the allusion to the *Magnificat*

[1] The blessed Philaret was a noble of Constantinople, who, like Job, at one time rich, lost all his earthly possessions, and afterwards recovered his position through his grandson marrying into the Empress Irene's family.

(He hath filled the hungry) which comes in the daily morning service of the Eastern Church, would not be lost on them, and the mention of our Saviour's journeys "through the various localities of Palestine," would come especially home to the inhabitants of a village lying on one of the main pilgrim routes of Russia, through which many a devout peasant who has been to the Holy Land passes on the way to the shrine of SS. Zosima and Savvati at Solovetzki. As soon as the sermon was over, the royal doors opened, and the priest, accompanied by his deacon, brought the Holy Sacrament forth to the people, and a small child of about two years old was communicated in his mother's arms, it being his birthday. The practice of communicating infants, once the universal rule of the Catholic Church, may seem strange to us, though it is difficult to see how it is possible to condemn it, and to defend infant baptism. At any rate the Easterns quote one and the same act for both (St. Mark x. 14), and I must say that as a rule it is a most edifying sight, reminding one of many an old picture of our Saviour being brought by His mother to the temple.

After this the congregation dispersed, and Vladimir and I went home, where we found breakfast being prepared for us, consisting of bread and biscuits, and of course unlimited tea. Needless to say, that Anna Germanovna was anxious to know what I thought of Vladimir's sermon, and for his old nurse it was evidently a red-letter day. In a few minutes the priest, who had stayed behind to take the ablutions, came in, his four hours' service on an empty stomach seemed to weigh lightly on him, and he appeared to be in no hurry to break his fast. Indeed, he was far too busily occupied in preparing the banquet for the guests whom he had invited to the midday dinner to meet me, to think of his breakfast, in spite of the solicitude of his sister and children on his behalf.

At about midday the guests began to arrive. First there came Father Joann Rozanoff, the head of the Blagochinie (a term answering very much to our Rural Deanery), with his wife, Father Popoff's sister-in-law. Then came Father Feodor Ivanoffski, a priest from a neighbouring parish. The Abbot of

Sijski was also expected, but as it was known that he was forbidden by his monastic rule to eat even fish during the fourteen days' fast before the "Repose of the Mother of God" (August 15) we began without him. After turning towards the icon of "the Saviour" in the corner of the room while grace was said, we all sat down to do justice to Anna Germanovna's excellent *ykhá*, a fresh fish soup, well known to all travellers in Russia, and other dishes of fish in various forms. In the midst of a lively conversation on the subject of my visit to Solovetski monastery the week before, its shrines, churches, walls, ships, seagulls, pilgrims, and services, and just when my stock of Russian names for the jewels in the vestments and mitres in the treasury was well-nigh exhausted, we heard the tinkling of bells, and looking out of the window we saw Abbot Antony's tarantass with the three white horses driving up the village street, and in a few moments he and his deacon entered, and after saluting the icons joined the party. "Second Vespers" have not as yet made their appearance in the Eastern Office-books, and there was no Sunday afternoon service, and we spent the afternoon chatting over glass after glass of tea, until the guests departed, all except Father Feodor, who was staying for the night. The evening we spent sitting out of doors on the grass in front of the parsonage, and both priests asked me many questions concerning the English Church. They had read in the *Tzerkovnyja Vjédomosti* that unlike the Germans we had Bishops, and that we kept the festivals of the Church, and allowed no work on Sundays. They had also heard that we had a liturgy, but no saints, was this true? I explained to them that our Calendar contained the names of a great many saints, and that our principal saints' days were those of each of the holy Apostles and the Evangelists, while we had two greater and three lesser feasts of the Blessed Virgin. After supper Father Paul returned to the subject of the English Church, and asked me whether the Psalter was read in our Church, whereupon I explained to him that the Psalter was recited through once every month, whereas in the East it is read through every week, and that

the song of the Blessed Virgin and the Prophet Simeon were with us, as with them, said every day. But the part of our service which pleased him most was the Litany, owing no doubt to its close resemblance in places to the *Ectenae* in the Eastern services. He would not let me miss a single clause in it, and as I translated it sentence by sentence to him he responded with *Gospodi pomilui* (Lord, have mercy) or *Podai Gospodi* (Grant, O Lord) in the place where we have "Good Lord deliver us" and "We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord," respectively.

The next day my visit came to an end, and Vladimir and I had to start for Moscow. When the time to start came near, the old priest came and told me that he was going to church to pray with Vladimir before we started. We all went across to the church, and the special service for "A youth returning to his studies" was sung. These *molebens* or services for special occasions are far more numerous in the Russian Church than in Greece, and are admirably drawn up. The Epistle read was Eph. i. 16-21, and the Gospel, Mark x. 13-16, after which Vladimir went up to kiss the cross and was sprinkled with holy water, and then the following prayer was read:—

"O Lord, our God and Maker, Who hast honoured mankind by creating him in Thine image, and hast taught them whom Thou hast chosen to reverence all those who harken unto Thy doctrine, and hast revealed Thy wisdom unto babes, and didst instruct Solomon and all those who have sought after Thy wisdom: open the hearts, understandings, and mouths of these Thy servants, that they may receive the might of Thy law, that they may effectually learn the profitable doctrine which is placed before them, to the glory of Thy most holy Name, and to the use and edification of Thy holy Church, and that they may understand Thy blessed and perfect will. Deliver them from all assaults of the enemy, confirm them in orthodoxy and faith, and in all blessedness and purity all the days of their life, and grant that they may perfect themselves in the understanding and fulfilment of Thy testimonies: and that thus prepared they may glorify Thy most holy Name, and

may be inheritors of Thy kingdom. For Thou art our God, mighty in mercy, and gracious in mightiness: and to Thee is due all glory, honour, and worship, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen."

Then, after being taken round to kiss the principal icons in the church, his father took him to his mother's grave in the churchyard, and read a short service there ending with the prayer:—

"O God of all spirits and of all flesh, Who has destroyed death and trodden down Satan, and hast given life to the world: grant unto the soul of Thine handmaid departed this life to rest in pleasant, happy, and peaceful places, from whence pain and sorrow and sighing do flee away. Forgive, O blessed Lord, Thou lover of mankind, forgive the sins she hath committed by thought, word, or deed: for there is not a man that liveth and sinneth not: Thou alone art without sin, Thy righteousness is everlasting righteousness, and Thy Word is truth. For Thou, O Christ, art the resurrection and the life: and to Thee we offer up our praise together with Thine everlasting Father and Thy most blessed and life-giving Spirit, now and for ever, even unto ages of ages. Amen."

After this service we went back to the parsonage to dinner, after which we sat talking till the bells of our tarantass coming down the village announced that the hour of parting between father and son was come. The table was moved aside and all the household assembled in the room. The lamps before the icons were lit and the family knelt down to pray for a safe journey for us, the old priest's voice being constantly interrupted with sobs at parting with his son, whom he would have no chance of seeing again for two years, a long time to look forward to at his time of life. He thanked me again and again for bringing Vladimir home to him, while Anna Germanovna, in the midst of her tears, once more entreated me not to take Vladimir "across the frontier" with me when I returned home. Nothing would satisfy her upon this point until I told her that no one could leave Russia without a passport, and that the Government would never allow me to carry

Vladimir off to England. The tarantass was now packed, and we went downstairs into the village street. As the priest embraced me for the last time he said: "God bless you for bringing me my son. May He ever be with you and all those who are dear to you, and send His holy angels to help and protect you on your journey." The jamshchik cracked his whip and our three horses started in a canter, and in a few minutes Zachachevski was out of sight and we were once more driving through the dark fir forests towards Moscow.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA.

As a discussion first started by Dr. Wright in his article in the *Nineteenth Century*, on "Stamping out of Protestantism in Russia," is now being carried on in the *Guardian*,[1] a few observations bearing on the complicated religious and political question of the Baltic Provinces may be interesting to some of its readers. I do not attempt to give a definite opinion on the whole rights and wrongs of the question. For this, it would be necessary to know the Esthonian or Lettish language and spend some time amongst the people, whereas I have only access to some of the German and Russian literature on the subject, and have formed most of my ideas concerning it from conversations with various Germans and Russians during two long journeys in Russia. Some of these impressions I have given in the following lines, together with some statistics from Russian sources, which have not yet appeared in England. And I have prefaced the whole with a slight historical sketch, mainly with a view to showing how inextricably religion and politics have always been intermingled in the past history of these provinces.

The three Russian Governments of Esthland, Livland, and Courland, commonly known as the Baltic Provinces, have for the last six centuries been governed, as far as their internal affairs are concerned, by a German oligarchy, which was established chiefly by the conquests of the Teutonic Knights, and which in point of numbers has never, at the most liberal computation, exceeded one-tenth of the whole population. At

[1] At the beginning of 1890. This article, signed by Birkbeck, appeared on March 19.—[A.R.]

the present time they number (if Leroy-Beaulieu is to be trusted) 160,000, while the Esthonians and Letts together amount to about 2,000,000. To show how completely the Germans have had the government in their own hands, it is enough to state that, in spite of the opposition of the vast majority of the population, they have twice been able to force an entirely new religion upon them, the services of which were in both cases at first extremely distasteful to the people, and conducted, moreover, in languages that they were totally unable to understand.

The history of the first conversion is soon told. At first it seemed that these tribes would have received the Christian faith from the missionaries of the Eastern Church, who had already founded a bishopric at Novgorod in 1035 and at Pskoff in 1132. But the energies of the Russians were completely paralysed at this time by the terrible life and death struggle with the Tartar invaders from the east which was just beginning, and the Teutonic Knights found the coast clear for them when they conquered these provinces early in the thirteenth century, and compelled the natives, who had hitherto been pagans, to enter the fold of the Western Church. The diocese of Riga was founded in 1201, and in 1255 formed into an archbishopric, with the bishoprics of Oesel, Dorpat, and Curonia as suffragan sees, together with several sees in East Prussia. To this was added afterwards the diocese of Reval, which had been founded by the Danes when Valdemar II conquered Esthland in 1218, and had thus hitherto formed part of the archiepiscopal province of Lund, in Denmark, but which passed in 1346, together with the territory, into the hands of the Teutonic Knights. The crusading nature of the Danish invasion of Esthland is evident from the present Danish flag, the famous Dannebrog, a white cross upon a red ground, which the Danes adopted in this war for the first time as their standard in place of the Raven.

The second conversion of the country took place in the first half of the sixteenth century, the Lutheran doctrines being introduced by Andreas Knöpken in 1521, and soon accepted by

the dominant class, and enforced throughout the three provinces; and, though the new teaching met with considerable opposition, the ancient Church seems to have completely disappeared within the next ten years.

Meanwhile, two new powers had been gradually coming to the front. Russia had now thrown off the Tartar yoke, and had consolidated her power in all those northern districts which had already been brought to Christianity through the agency of her missionaries, chiefly monks, who played the most important part in the colonisation of Northern Russia. But her progress was arrested by Sweden, an old rival, whom she had defeated under St. Alexander Nevski in 1241, but was now once more to meet in the battle-field. All through the sixteenth century Sweden was encroaching on the north of Russia, and before the end of the century the great monastery of Solovetzki, in the White Sea, had to surround itself with fortifications, being threatened by the fate which already had befallen the monasteries of Pechenski in Lapland, and Valaam and Konevetz in Lake Ladoga. This new rivalry was soon transferred to the Baltic Provinces, which John the Terrible had attempted but failed to conquer, and which fell, all except Courland, into the hands of Sweden. As is well known, they were finally annexed to Russia by Peter the Great, who engaged himself by treaty to respect the privileges of the Established Lutheran Church of these provinces. Courland was granted similar terms in 1795 by Catherine II, and thus they remained until 1832, when Nicholas I issued an order that the Greek Orthodox religion should henceforth be the Established religion, and that the law of these provinces in ecclesiastical matters should be assimilated to that of the rest of the empire.

The bookshops at Berlin are full of violent pamphlets on the subject of Russian perfidy for not adhering to Peter the Great's pledge in this matter, and Dr. Wright seems to feel equally strongly on the subject. I must say that this seems to me to be taking rather an extravagant view of the permanency of such obligations. Of how many countries in Europe can it be said that they have adhered to the letter of

all their treaties since the eighteenth century? Certainly not of Germany, who in 1880, on the flimsiest of pretexts, openly repudiated an equally solemn promise given to Denmark in the Treaty of Prague only fifteen years previously, and has lately, in distinct violation of her pledge to Hamburg in 1871, forced that city much against her will into her Customs union. For this latter act the Germans offer exactly the same justification as do the Russians for the action of Nicholas I—namely, that the time has come for a closer consolidation of the empire. The introduction of railways has made in the same direction, both by bringing these provinces into closer relations with the chief centres of the empire, and by transferring much of the export trade of the interior from St. Petersburg to Reval, Riga, and Libau, which are often free from ice most of the winter. The transfer of Russian trade has naturally attracted a considerable Russian population to these parts, and with them has come the Russian religion; so that it was inevitable that sooner or later the same laws on religion which are enforced in the rest of the empire should be extended to these provinces.

It was inevitable also that at first the enforcement of these laws should be attended with some cases of hardship. Let us take, for instance, the law ordering that the children of mixed marriages should be brought up in the Orthodox faith. That this law has until lately been lightly enforced, and that such children were frequently brought up in Lutheranism contrary both to the law and the marriage agreement, is admitted by both sides. Since 1885 the law has been put more strictly in force, and, if this has entailed hardship in many individual cases, the blame would seem to lie rather with the parents who had broken their word, or their clergy, whether Russian or Lutheran, who had neglected to remind them of it, than with the Russian Bishop or officials whose duty it is to enforce the law, however much they may approve or disapprove of it.

I shall now give some statistics concerning the Russian Church in the Baltic Provinces which I have collected chiefly from the Chief Procurator's last official report of all the dioceses

of the Russian Church in the year 1886. The Baltic Provinces are all included in the diocese of Riga, in which, as we have seen, there are rather over 2,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 216,618 are registered as members of the Orthodox Church. The total number of parish churches given is 168, of which 12 were opened during the years 1885-6. The parishes are divided amongst the three Baltic Governments as follows: 125 in Livland, 22 in Esthland, and 21 in Courland, and of these, 38 are in the principal towns, and 130 in country villages. Out of the total number, in 34 the service is performed both in the Russian and native languages; while, of the remaining 134, 23 are exclusively Russian, 42 Lettish, and 69 Esthonian, according to the requirements of the parishioners; and these are served by 186 archpriests and priests and 30 deacons. There is an Episcopal seminary and classical school, containing 109 and 174 pupils respectively, amongst which 39 have passed in the Esthonian and 70 in the Lithuanian languages. Besides these, there are 462 parochial schools, which are educating 17,795 children. The number of fresh converts made during the year 1886 given is 5,797, of which 5,745 were from the Lutheran Church, and the remaining 52 from various sects, of which 28, Dr. Wright will be consoled to hear, were from the Roman Catholics. Concerning these conversions the report gives the most curious details (*Vsepoddannéishij Otchet za* 1886, p. 70), showing that in some districts, especially in the east of Esthonia, the villages are going over almost *en masse*. For instance, in the village of Ristin, near Hapsal, 423 passed over in that year; in Merjama and Rappel, and the neighbouring district, 457; and in the village Windau in Courland, 575; besides a large number of Swedes in the island of Worms. Leroy-Beaulieu states that whole villages often secede from antipathy to the German landlords; and I have given the names of these villages in order that Dr. Wright, who has apparently gone into the matter carefully, may be able to state whether this was the reason, or whether this is one of the instances which he has collected of fictitious conversions.

The fact is that during the time of their undisputed supremacy the Germans, in marked contrast to the Swedes in Finland, failed to avail themselves of their opportunity. Whether after the Reformation they might, as Dr. Wright puts it, "have improved the education of the people" (by which, I suppose, he means forced the German language upon them), and whether, as he thinks, "it would have been easy to have thoroughly Germanised the original races had that task been undertaken," or whether, like the Swedes in Finland, they might have succeeded in winning the affections of the people, so as to accept with heart and soul their religion, I cannot say, though, to judge by the meagre success which other attempts to Germanise a subject population have achieved, I am inclined to doubt it. But it is certain that such an attempt was never so much as contemplated in these provinces until after the emancipation of the serfs in the rest of the Russian Empire brought the question to the front. And then it was too late. The Russians were in the field before them. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the case, and whatever means may have been used in the Emperor Nicholas's reign, we may be sure that the discontent of the peasantry and their tendency to turn to the St. Petersburg Government for assistance is inspired by something more than bribes held forth by the Russian clergy. Indeed, these latter were in 1887 strictly forbidden by their superiors, at the instance of M. Pobedonostzeff, to promise their converts any material advantage—a fact which Dr. Wright characteristically omits to mention, although it is stated in Leroy-Beaulieu, whom he occasionally quotes as an authority—when, that is to say, he can be quoted in favour of his attacks upon the Russian Church. Even Russian Protestants allow that there are two sides to the question. When travelling this summer I happened to be dining with three Finlanders, all of them Lutherans, who were loud in their abuse of Russia, owing to the re-establishment by Peter the Great of the two monasteries on Lake Ladoga, which had been destroyed by the Swedes, which are now nominally in Finnish territory. But when I brought

up the question of the Baltic Provinces a complete change of tone took place, and I was regaled with what I hope were exaggerated statements as to the sufferings of the Esthonian people (who are Finns by race) at the hands of the German landlords, and with expressions of gratification that the Russian Government had taken up their cause!

In writing what I have concerning the Baltic Provinces, I do not mean to imply that I consider the Russians to be all in the right and the Germans all in the wrong, but rather to show that the question is a very difficult one; that there are two sides to this as well as to every other question, and that it is our privilege as Englishmen and Anglicans, and not either Russians or Germans, Protestants or Greek Orthodox, to be able to look at it impartially, and to write and speak of it without employment of either invective or slander. No one would deny that the Germans in the Baltic Provinces are in an exceedingly difficult position, and no one that has had the privilege of coming into contact with them would deny that they are the most honourable race of men, and that they have served their Tzar and Russia on many occasions nobly and well. But the present age is not what the eighteenth century was, and the old order is changing, giving place to new. Granting that the German population of the Baltic coast towns and the country gentry are in the matter of education far in advance of the ordinary Russian middle classes, we cannot expect that the Russian Government will permit them to occupy an exceptional position which is now denied to the Russian nobility. The happiest thing that could happen to them would be that they should make up their minds to join the Orthodox Church. Dr. Wright admits that free access is given by the Russian ecclesiastical authorities to the Word of God, and no one can deny that the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are nearer to those of the primitive Church, to which we all appeal, than any other now in use in Christendom. Of course, this is quite impossible; but I am convinced that it is so rather on account of the past history of the two peoples and race hatred than for any other reason. Over and over again

I have noticed while travelling in Russia that it is impossible for almost any German to speak of the Russians without using most unfair expressions of hatred and contempt. I remember, on one occasion, when, on starting from the shore in a steamer, all the Russian peasants on board turned towards a church, and, according to their pious custom, crossed themselves and sang "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us," and prayed for a prosperous voyage. A German merchant turned to me and said, "The rascals, they cross themselves with their right hand and steal with their left". This is the generous way in which the ordinary German merchant speaks of the Russians, and one is not surprised in the country villages, when asked from what country you come and you reply "from England," that they say, "Glory to God, you are not a German"; or that occasionally, as I discovered in a church close to the White Sea, in pictures of the Last Judgment figures labelled "Germans" are depicted on the warm side, stewing between "Turks" and "Tartars"! These two instances are extremely characteristic of the present state of feeling between the two races, and should make one cautious in accepting the statements of either side without proof based upon personal experience. I need not stop here to discuss Dr. Wright's theories on "the principles of religious liberty," though I entirely disagree with them. But I believe that if he knew more of Russia even he would admit that just as free trade may be an advantage to one country and a disadvantage to another, so free trade in religion would have the most disastrous effects in the Russian empire. This, at any rate, has been the experience of the Finns, who, Protestants as they are, not only protect their country by law against the Orthodox missionaries, but also against foreign proselytism of any kind, as I recently learnt from a circular of the Salvation Army begging for money to start their propaganda in Finland, in which an apology was made that the new sect would have to be started under an assumed *nom de guerre* in the Finnish language, as foreign sects had recently been forbidden by the Finnish Diet. It is humiliating to think that most of

these self-constituted apostles, "quack soul-savers" as they have been aptly described by a distinguished Russian authoress, should come from England, and when one hears the English Church held responsible for their purely gratuitous vagaries, with which she has nothing whatever in common, it is hard to repress one's indignation. The Russians and Finns leave England alone in this respect; why cannot we do as we would be done by?

CHAPTER V.

THE SLAVONIC LANGUAGE IN THE RUSSIAN CHURCH SERVICES.[1]

ONE of the commonest charges brought against the Russian Church is that the Old Slavonic language, in which her services are read, is not understood by the people. It has even been said of her that in this respect she is worse off than the Roman Church, inasmuch as not only the people, but the clergy themselves are unable to understand what they read. If the following remarks serve to modify the misunderstandings upon this matter which one constantly meets with, even in highly educated circles, its object will have been attained.

Dr. Neale was probably right in saying that the Old Slavonic is the most perfect language for ecclesiastical purposes which the Christian world has as yet seen. As subtle and flexible as Greek, as vigorous and terse as Latin, and as clear and precise as either of them, the Slavonic language has the great advantage over both, that when SS. Cyril and Methodius first applied it to ecclesiastical purposes, instead of being in a state of decadence, as was the case with the classical languages of antiquity at the time when they were first used by the Church, it was in the full vigour and perfection of its youth. Accordingly the Slavonic Scriptures, and the Slavonic service-books which were translated in the tenth century, represent to Slavonic literature just what our Prayer-book and Authorised Version of the Bible represent to Anglo-Saxon literature—that is to say, the language in its highest and purest form. Moreover, owing to the fact that the service-books were the beginning of Slavonic literature, and that the alphabet was invented by St. Cyril on purpose for them, they had the further advantage of a perfectly consistent phonetic spelling, which, with certain

[1] This article appeared originally in the *Guardian* for May 16, 1894.

small modifications connected with local dialects, they still retain. In fact, as a language for ecclesiastical use it could hardly be improved upon.

The only question is whether the people in Russia can understand it sufficiently well to justify its retention in the Church services or not. To accuse the Russian Church, as her enemies are so fond of doing, of wilfully obscuring the language of her services in order to keep the people ignorant, is as wanton and baseless a calumny as was ever invented. The English Church justly prides herself upon the work that she has done of late years in translating her formularies into the languages of the various races which she includes within her jurisdiction; but the Russian Church was already doing this long before the idea of administering the Sacraments in English, far less in Welsh or Irish, was even thought of in this country. From the days of St. Stephen of Perm, who in the fourteenth century began the conversion of the tribes in the north-eastern districts of European Russia by inventing an alphabet for the Zyrianian language and then translating the whole of the Church books into it, down to the present day, when her services are read in more than a hundred languages, a service understanded of the people has always been her tradition; and I do not suppose there is any National Church, not excepting even the Anglican Church, where the services are read in so many languages. The trouble and expense that the ecclesiastical authorities will go to in the matter is quite astonishing. When I was in St. Petersburg, in 1889, a committee of experts were engaged in translating the liturgy for a small tribe in the north-east of Siberia, numbering under 5000 souls, whose language contained little over 200 words in all, and amongst them none for "body" (that is to say *corpus* as distinguished from *caro*) and none for "bread," so that even the Lord's Prayer and the words of institution could not be translated literally. And this being so, it would seem very improbable that she would intentionally starve her Russian-speaking population by reading to them in a language they cannot understand.

But is it true that the Russian peasant cannot understand the Church language? One thing is quite certain, that while the Russian language as spoken in cultivated classes has since the time of Peter the Great been profoundly modified by contact with other European languages and modes of thought, the language of the peasantry has been hardly, if at all, affected by the change. I once heard Archbishop Ambrose, of Kharkoff, in a speech upon Russian internal affairs, compare the Russian nation to a train, the engine of which, by putting on too much steam in the time of Peter the Great, had broken loose from the rest of the train and left it behind; and this is certainly equally true of the language. Use, for instance, the word *relígija* (religion) to a Russian *muzhik*, and he will only shake his head in bewilderment, and this not only at the word, but at the idea which the word contains, if you explain it to him. The word which he uses is *vjéra* (faith), which he understands well enough, and "men of a different religion" to himself he calls *inovjértzy*—that is to say, ἀλλόπιστοι, a word for which it is difficult to find an exact equivalent in any Western language, but which is analogous to the Slavonic *inovjazŷchjsk* (ἀλλόγλωττος), or *inostránetz*, a foreigner. Both *inovjéritz* and *inostránetz* are used in common conversation in modern Russian, and show the immense influence that the Greek Church has had upon the growth of the nation;[1] but what I am now anxious to show is not so much this, but that the Old Slavonic language is, as a matter of fact, the best medium through which the teaching of the Church can reach the people, even down to the most ignorant classes.

Let us first see how very near to one another the two languages are, when the simplest and most familiar matters have to be expressed. I will take as an example the first four verses (Greek division) of *Magnificat*, which is sung every day at Matins in the Eastern Offices, and in Russia is generally heartily joined in by the congregation:—

[1] The most remarkable example of this is the word *sorok*, "forty," derived from the Gk. τεσσαράκοντα, referring to the forty days of Lent, Easter, and Christmas. All other Slavonic languages have the regular form *chetyridesjat*.

Old Slavonic.	Modern Russian.
1. Velíchit dushà mojà Gospoda :	1. Velíchit dushá mojà Góspóda :
2. i vozrádovasja dukh moi o Bózje, Spásje moém.	2. i vozrádovalsja dukh moi o Bógje Spasítelje moém.
3. Jáko prizrjé na smirénije rabý svojejá : se bo, otnýnje ublazhátt mja vsi ródi :	3. Chto prizrjél on na smirénije rabý svojéj : íbo otnýnje búdut ublazhátj menjá vsjé ródy :
4. Jáko sotvori mnje velíchije Síljny : i svjáto ímja Jegó.	4. Chto sotvoríl mnje velíchije Síljny : i svjáto ímja Jegó.

Now, if the Slavonic version be compared both with the Greek original and with the modern Russian, it will at once be seen that the differences between the first and the last consist mainly in the terminations of the verbs. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the Old Slavonic possessed an aorist, which has practically disappeared in modern Russian.

So much for one of the more simple passages of Scripture. But it would not be fair to quote this as a sole example. The next quotation shall be one in which the Old Slavonic differs as far as it is possible to find from the modern Russian. We will take Luke xxiv. 16, 17 :—

Old Slavonic.	Modern Russian.
16. *Óchi* zhe *jejú* derzhástje-sja, da Jehó nje pozn*áeta*.	16. No glazà ikh býli udérzhany, tak chto oní nje uznali Jegó.
17. Reché zhe k'*níma* : chto sútj slovesjá siją, o nikhzhe stjaz*áeta*sja k'sebjé idúshcha, i *está*drjákhl*a* ?	17. On zhe skazál im : o chëm éto vy idjá razsuzhdáete mézhdu sobóju, i otchegó vy pecháljny ?

Now at first sight these two versions appear to differ so much from one another that it would seem hardly possible that a modern Russian should understand the older version. Nevertheless, if we analyse the differences between them, I think that we shall come to a different conclusion.

1. In the first place, all the terminations which have been put in italics are those of the dual number, which has entirely disappeared from modern Russian verbs, adjectives, and pronouns, and although retained in a certain limited sense in the nominative and accusative cases of nouns, may practically be said to have disappeared quite as completely from the modern language as it had from the Greek of the New Testament.

2. Sl. *Ochi*, Mod. Rus. *Olazà*, eyes. *O-chi* (nom. and acc. dual. from *óko*), although, except in poetry, it has given way in the modern language to *glazà*, is still much used by the common people. Moreover, the modern language makes use of many of its derivatives—e.g., its diminutive, *ochki* = "spectacles," and *ochevídno* (*lit.* seen to the eyes) = "evident".

3. *Derzhástjesja* (3rd pers. dual. imp. pass.) and *byli udérzany* (3rd pers. plur. perf. pass.). This difference will (apart from the difference of number) be best described by comparing the former to *tenebantur* (Vulgate) and the latter to *retenti sunt*. The analogy is so close that in Russian, as in Latin, a prepositional prefix is necessary if the perfect form be used. In passing it is interesting to notice how the verb *derzhatj*, which is equivalent to the Gk. κατέχειν, provides a connection between ἐκρατοῦντο of the Gk. Test. and *tenebantur* of the Vulgate. From it is derived the word *derzháva* (κράτος, imperium), "power," and *samo derzhetz* (αὐτοκράτωρ), "an autocrat".

4. Sl. *reché* (aorist) : Mod. Rus. *On skazúl* (imperfect). Here, besides the difference of tense we have two different words used. But the difference is exactly analogous to that between "he spake" and "he said" in English, and would present no difficulty to a Russian. Indeed the Russian word for "a speech" is *rjéchj*, and in ordinary conversation if you wish to say, "they are talking about so-and-so," you would put in into Russian : *rjéchy idët o tom* (*lit.* the talk is going concerning so-and-so).

5. But in spite of all this, the 17th verse is evidently quite different in the two versions. It does not therefore follow, however, that the people cannot understand the Slavonic

version. The fact is that in the modern Russian the verse has been paraphrased, whereas the Slavonic follows the Greek word for word. If translated literally, the modern version would be: "Concerning what is it, that you, in walking, reason between yourselves, and wherefore are you sad?"

6. And now we come to the only word which is used in the old version in a sense which is obsolete in the modern language. *Drjákhla* (nom. dual. masc.), which is used for Gk. *σκυθρωποί*, would not in modern Russian mean "sad," but more "sad-looking," "worn out," "broken down," or "decrepid". It is used for an old man, one who has "shifted into the lean and slippered pantaloon," or for scents which have lost their strength. Anyone who has travelled in Russia, and has eaten cold sturgeon, probably knows the meaning of *drjákhly khrjèn*, or horse-radish sauce, which has been kept too long and has so lost its flavour. But, after all, is not this the exact meaning of *σκυθρωπός*, as, for instance, used by Euripides in the expression *σκυθρωπὸν γῆρας* (Bacch. 1252)? And is it not an appropriate word for men overcome and beaten down with grief?

I think that it will now be clear that as far as the Scriptures and the ordinary forms of the Divine office are concerned, the Russians can find little difficulty (provided that they know their own language, which is certainly the case with the Russian peasantry, *experto crede*) in following what they hear in church. The only exception which I would make to this assertion is in the case of certain variable portions of the Proper of Saints, such as, for instance, those of the more elaborate canons, which have been translated from Greek poetical compositions written in metrical form. The difficulty of understanding these lies in the fact that the translators, while they did not attempt to reproduce the metre of the Greek original, nevertheless retained the exact order of the Greek words, notwithstanding that the exigencies of Greek metrical composition often required the disarrangement (e.g., the separation of adjectives from their nouns) of the natural order of the words. A foreigner, for instance, will find much more difficulty in reading the Slavonic translation of the

Acathist of the Mother of God, written by Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the seventh century, than the Acathist of the "Most sweet Jesus" written originally in Slavonic in Russia in the eleventh century. And although these two Acathists are so familiar to all Orthodox Russians, that even the first presents no difficulty to them, this is naturally not the case with regard to some of the canons which are read once a year on minor festivals of the Church. But, after all, supposing that our own peasantry were to attend the daily matins (the office at which these canons are sung) with anything like the regularity with which the *muzhiks* attend that service in Russia, would not they sometimes hear language which would be rather difficult for *them* to understand? At any rate, I myself have heard a great many more quotations (and intelligent quotations too) made from the Slavonic canons translated from St. Cosmas and St. John Damascene than I have ever heard from the Norfolk peasantry, amongst whom I have lived all my life, from the Hebrew prophets, which are read, or ought to be read, in all our churches throughout the months of September and October! With regard to the Russian clergy, the accusation that they cannot understand Slavonic is a pure invention. Every priest has to go through a complete course in it at the diocesan seminaries before he is ordained, and, if one's own experience counts for anything, I may say that, while in travelling in out-of-the-way parts of Russia I have frequently asked the local clergy to go through the services with me before attending them, I have never once found any of them, even the poorest, unable to do so.

I think, therefore, that it is certain that the people, although they may not understand the variable portions of some of the minor feasts, have no difficulty with the Scriptures, the Psalms, the Creed, the Canticles, or any other of the everyday portions of the service. Indeed, the choirs in the villages are chiefly composed of peasants, and, although in the rich churches in the large towns music of a nature too elaborate to be congregational is often employed, wherever it is possible one hears the people joining in the service. One morning this summer I

went into the Kazan Cathedral early in the morning, and found that the liturgy was being sung without any choir at all: the large church was packed with people singing, not, as in Germany, hymns more or less independent of the Mass, but the actual words of the liturgy, including the proper of the day, which was the Feast of the Transfiguration. They sang these without any books and entirely by heart; but this is not so surprising in Russia, seeing that the Transfiguration is one of the twelve principal feasts of the Orthodox Church.

I think, then, that there is no doubt that the Russian peasants understand the actual words of the Church services. Indeed, all the popular literature of the country is written not in modern Russian but in the Church language. If anyone doubts this, let him look at the ballads (*byliny*) collected from the mouths of the peasantry and printed for the first time by the Slavophiles Hilferding and Kirêeffski during the present century; or let him listen to the labourers, even in modern towns, and the songs which they sing while doing their work. The man who has merely mastered the modern Russian grammar and dictionary, and has paid no attention to the Old Slavonic will not understand very much!

It may, however, be objected that, however near the language of the peasantry may be to the forms used by the Church, they often do not understand the full meaning of these forms. But this is quite another question; and Russian peasants are certainly not the only people in the world who sometimes misunderstand the meaning of the Scriptures or Church services when they hear them read. But I will go even further. As far as Russia is concerned I am inclined to think that the abandonment of the Old Slavonic in favour of modern Russian for the Church services would be a case of jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire. The following actually happened last spring:[1]—A Stundist (a sort of semi-rationalistic Protestant sect of German origin) preacher in the south of Russia had succeeded in converting nearly half of a village, and had persuaded them to burn all their ikons pub-

[1] This article appeared originally in May, 1894.

licly, and to believe in "the Bible, and the Bible only". One Sunday he was reading aloud to them from the last chapter of St. Mark in modern Russian in preparation for a sermon upon the same. He got as far as verse 12, where the Evangelist speaks of the Saviour appearing "unto two of them in another form". Now, the *modern* Russian translation of ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ is *v' inóm óbrazje*; moreover the word *óbraz* means not only *forma*, but likewise *imago*, and is, as a matter of fact, the common Russian word for an *eicon*, or sacred picture; and although in the plural number one may distinguish between the two meanings, inasmuch as it has a masculine and neuter form, of which the first (*óbrazy*) represents μορφαί and the second (*obrazá*) εἰκονες, in the singular number there is nothing but the sense of the passage to distinguish between the two meanings. Accordingly, no sooner did their self-constituted teacher mention the words *v' inóm óbrazjè* than a long-bearded *muzhik* arose and said, "But, little father, you have told us to burn our *eicons* (*obrazà*) because the Bible forbids them, and yet now the Bible tells us that the Lord Himself appeared after His Resurrection in another *eicon* (*v' inóm óbrazjè*)." The result was fatal to the preacher, and the peasants, with those simple and sheep-like instincts which alone make the democratic institutions of the Russian *mir*, or village assembly, a possibility, returned to their parish priest. This story, of course, might very easily be used by the enemies of the Russian Church as an example of the ignorance of the Russian peasantry. It might also be used by her friends as showing both how important it is that irresponsible proselytisers should not be let loose upon such simple-minded folk, and that the Radical and Progressist party in Russia, which, just as in this country, is trying to banish religious instruction from the village schools, should not be allowed to have it all their own way. Indeed, it was in connection with the latter two arguments that the story was told to me, and I entirely agree. But my reason for quoting it is quite different, and refers much more directly to the subject of my paper. I wish to point out that while the preacher, by reading from the modern Russian text *v' inóm*

óbrazje (which, through a literal translation of ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ, would not be free from ambiguity to an uneducated man), laid himself open to misunderstanding, if he had only taken the Slavonic version *injèm óbrazom* (*ablativus modi*), "by another form," there could have been no mistake to anybody about the meaning of the passage.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROSPECT OF REUNION WITH EASTERN CHRISTENDOM IN SPECIAL RELATION TO THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

In January, 1894, we both went down to Gloucester to a meeting of the English Church Union. I gave the first address, on Eastern Christendom as a whole. Birkbeck followed with a paper on the Russian Church. It seemed to me so admirable that I begged him to print it *in extenso*. This he did and sent a copy to Pobiedonostzeff who in his turn handed it to the Tzarevitch, soon to ascend the throne as the Emperor Nicholas II. All the circumstances connected with this episode cannot be stated; it is sufficient to say that on Birkbeck's next visit to Petrograd in 1895 he had the honour of a private interview with His Imperial Majesty who presented him to the Empress. From this time forward "Ivan Vasilievitch," to give the affectionate name by which he was known throughout Russia, was an honoured guest wherever he went in the dominions of the Tzar.

I have been asked, in connection with the subject of "the Prospect of Reunion with Eastern Christendom," to say a few words about the Russian Orthodox Church. This Church, although in full communion with the rest of the Holy Eastern Church, and agreeing absolutely with it in all its doctrines, presents certain features which are particular to itself; and, therefore, although I shall constantly have to speak of that

which Russia and Greece hold in common, it is to the distinguishing features of the Russian Church herself and the false views concerning her which are current in the West that I shall chiefly refer. No apology is needed for the selection of this one community out of all the other Eastern Churches for special treatment. A Church which, without mentioning her missionary dioceses in Japan and North America, extends her jurisdiction over the whole of the Russian Empire, that is to say, a sixth part of the habitable globe, which, according to the latest statistics (A.D. 1890), numbers considerably over 72,000,000 of souls,[1] which, in that same year, baptised over 4,000,000 children, married more than 650,000 couples, and whose births exceeded her deaths by considerably more than 1,000,000, could never be a negligible quantity in any discussion concerning the Reunion of Christendom. But she has higher claims than this upon the attention of all those who are interested in the present and future prospects of Christianity upon earth. Whether we look at her past services to Christendom—such, for instance, as having borne the whole brunt of the Tartar invasions for 400 years and thus saving Europe—or at her present activity and influence for good, she is worthy of our highest admiration and gratitude; nor need the learning of her theologians, the eloquence of her preachers, or the zeal and success of her missionaries fear comparison with those of any other Christian community in the world. In the splendour of her sanctuaries, the solemnity of her ceremonial, and the beauty of her liturgy and Divine Office, she stands without a rival in Christendom; while as regards the faith which she holds, it is the same which was delivered to her more than nine centuries ago from the undivided Catholic Church, without alteration, mutilation, or addition of any kind whatsoever.

[1] The exact number given in the Report of the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod's report for 1890 is 69,350,647, but this is without reckoning the Exarchate of Georgia and two other dioceses and the Army and Fleet, which in 1888 together amounted to 2,897,564, and of course have increased since then. The exact number of deaths given for 1890 is 3,001,562, of births 4,035,438, and of marriages 657,055. The numbers are from the diocesan returns, and must be considerably under rather than over the truth.

Now, I know that some of these statements would certainly seem to contradict the general opinion held in the West concerning the Orthodox Church, and especially concerning that portion of it about which I am speaking. It is very much the fashion amongst both Roman Catholics and Protestants to speak of the Russian Church as a corrupt, ignorant, and fossilised body, without life, without learning, without energy—in fact, as a Church which has long been perfectly useless to Christendom, and which, unless it speedily betake itself to the various remedies suggested by its many candid friends in the West, is doomed without doubt to extinction before the march of progress and civilisation. And, inasmuch as it is from Vienna or Berlin that our newspapers obtain most of their Russian news, it is unfortunately too often the case that English Churchmen take all that comes to them from these Roman and Protestant sources, or even from the Jewish press of Germany and Austria, as if it were Gospel truth. But this, surely, is a very foolish thing for us to do. We certainly should think the Russians very credulous, and even very much wanting in ordinary Christian charity, if they were to judge of the English Church entirely from the English Nonconformist press—for instance from the *Tablet*, the *Review of Reviews*, and the *Daily News*, or from the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Let us therefore try first of all to realise how unlikely it is that we should receive an unprejudiced account of Russia from Roman or from Protestant sources.

That the Roman Catholics should not be fond of the Russian Church is perfectly natural. From the time of the Great Schism in 1054, at which time the Russian Grand Duke was at war with Constantinople, and therefore might naturally have been expected to make cause with the Pope against the Greek Emperor, down to the present day, when their mutual dislike of the Triple Alliance might seem to offer her a favourable opportunity, Rome has not ceased to cast longing eyes at this great National Church. Many of the Popes—Gregory VII (1075), Innocent III. (1207) just to give two famous instances —have tried to achieve their end by means of negotiations

with the Russian monarchs; other Popes, more especially since the foundation of the Order of Jesuits, by means of intrigue amongst the clergy and people, as during the troubles at the end of the sixteenth century, or in the reigns of Catharine II, Paul, and Alexander I; others, again, by persuading other nations, such as the Poles and Swedes, to undertake crusades against them, which expedient was especially resorted to at periods when Russia was being hard pressed by the Mohammedan Tartars from the East, as in the time of St. Alexander Nevski, or later on in Russia's wars with the Turks. But all has been in vain. Every attempt has failed; the Russian Church and nation has throughout maintained a consistent and successful resistance against all attempts to detach her from the Holy Eastern Church. Her differences with the Papacy are something much more than merely political. Her attitude towards Rome throughout her history and at the present day cannot be better described than in the words of the congratulatory letter sent her by her converts in Japan on the occasion of the celebration at Kieff in 1888 of the ninth centenary of the conversion of the Russian nation. After referring to the well-known story of that conversion—to the various envoys that were sent from different religions in order to persuade the Grand Duke Vladimir to join them, and after pointing to the fact that they, the young Japanese Orthodox Church, had made the same choice as did the Grand Duke, they go on to speak thus of the other Christian missionaries in Japan:—

"But we pray St. Vladimir, and beseech the Russian Church to intercede before God that the same choice which he made may likewise be made by our nation, and that God may not suffer the Japanese people [in forsaking their Paganism] to enter afresh upon a false religious path, but that He may enlighten them with the light of the true and divinely-given Faith. We, indeed, who have tasted of the sweet, have no desire for the bitter, either for ourselves or for our country. But at the present time there are even more who offer us the bitter under the guise of sweet than there were in the time of St. Vladimir. Behold, we have before us one set of envoys

who offer their Creed for our acceptation; but to the question as to what exactly their dogmas are, how can they answer but as follows? 'To-day we hold such and such doctrines, but what *may be added to them* to-morrow we cannot tell; for perhaps at this very moment a man far away from here, who has authority to do so, is preparing some new dogmas, which to-morrow we shall have to accept and believe; in fact, there are many amongst us who have not yet passed the limits of middle age, and who in our youth had two dogmas less to confess than we have at present, and perhaps we shall reach old age with two, possibly more than two, dogmas to believe besides those which we have to-day.' How can *these* be the successors of those ambassadors, who 'did not shun to declare unto the people all the counsel of God?'"

Nothing that I could say could put the doctrinal issue between Rome and Russia more clearly than this passage, and, if taken in connection with what I have already said as to the constant ill-successes of the Popes in their endeavours to induce the Russians to change their minds upon the subject, it will be quite unnecessary, like Virgil, to invoke the Muse in order to understand the causes of the wrath in those celestial minds which serve the Vatican. It is easy to see what majesty of the latter it is which has been outraged, and has thus caused the whole Ultramontane press to attack the Russian Church, *insignem pietate* though even her enemies admit her to be, with a more than Junonian hatred and spite!

But let us now turn to the Protestants, and try and understand why—*quo numine laeso, quidve dolens*—the Protestant press in Germany and the Dissenting press in England, which is generally content to copy that of Germany, carry on a no less relentless campaign of calumny and misrepresentation against Russia, notwithstanding the fact that, after all, she is the only great Christian nation which has never submitted to the Pope. First, as to the doctrinal position of the Orthodox Church with regard to Protestantism. I think that I cannot do better than continue the letter of the Orthodox Church in Japan from the point where I stopped:—

"But behold, envoys of another kind appear before us. These answer the aforesaid question when it is put to them (i.e., What dogmas do you hold exactly?) in a totally different manner to the former. 'To-day, our doctrine is so-and-so, but what *we may drop out of it* to-morrow we ourselves know not.' And as they crumble and dissolve into sects, they wipe out the truths revealed by Christ one after another, until the very first foundations of Christianity melt away. And are men such as these the successors of those ambassadors to whom it was said, 'Go ye, and teach all nations, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you?'"

And then, summing up the difference between the Roman and the Protestant missionaries in Japan, and comparing the teaching of both with Orthodoxy, they continue:—

"The one set, the further they go the more do they add of 'the wood, hay, and stubble' of human imaginations and inventions which they have come across and picked up on their way, unto the 'gold, silver, and precious stones' of the Divine doctrine; the others, the further they go the more do they fritter away of the treasure of the doctrine of God. Are not both alike preparing for those who shall trust and follow after them the bitterness of error and disenchantment, as well as a fresh search for the true Faith in time to come? It is the Orthodox Church alone which can 'give to drink from the fount of the sweetness of the Word of God' to those who come to her, for she alone has preserved the Divine doctrine just as it was committed to her, and will preserve it unchanged to the end of the ages, without adding to or taking from it a single iota, inasmuch as she is 'the pillar and ground of the truth,' inasmuch as the Spirit of God which dwelleth within her preserveth her from all error."

But to return to the attitude of German Protestantism towards Russia. The above quotation is quite sufficient to show how utterly alien to the Orthodox idea is the genius of Protestantism. Moreover the course of political events, especially during the last two centuries, has contributed considerably to this antagonism as far as Russia and Germany is concerned.

In order to describe these events, I hope you will forgive me for making a very long digression upon the nature of the great national and religious movement of this century which is generally known under the name of Panslavism. At first, it may seem to be beside our subject, but I think that before I have done you will see that it is quite as necessary for us to understand it, as it is for Easterns who wish for Reunion to understand Tractarianism and the religious and political movements which gave birth to and accompanied it.

For historical reasons, far too complicated to describe in detail, but which may be summed up under two heads:—(1) dynastic marriages with the Protestant families of Germany, and (2) the annexation under Peter the Great of the German Baltic provinces, which together led to the admission of a large number of German Protestants into the most influential places in the State, German Protestantism during the whole period which succeeded the reforms of Peter the Great down to the middle of this century held a most advantageous position in Russia. At the present time, owing partly to that great revival of national feeling during this century which is known as the Slavophile movement, partly to the emancipation of the serfs, and the consequent weakening of the influence of the often semi-Germanised nobility, partly to the adoption of a more national and less cosmopolitan policy on the part of her rulers, this state of things is reversed. German influence, political, religious, and social, is decidedly on the decrease in Russia, and seems likely at no distant point of time to disappear altogether; while Russian ideas and interests, coupled, as they have ever been, with the aims and ideals of the Orthodox Church are supplanting them more and more every year. I hope you will not think that I am wandering away from our subject—the prospect of Reunion with Eastern Christendom—or that I am trespassing too far into the domain of politics. After all, before we begin to discuss the possibilities of Reunion, we must at least form some idea of what that Church is with which many of us would like to see our Church united, and what are its relations towards that

nation of whose members it is composed. Let us, then, compare Russia with the Western nations.

The revival of national feeling which has taken place during the present century in so many parts of continental Europe, and which, in such countries as Germany and Italy is to be seen in those movements which were consummated in the restoration of national unity, is represented in Russia by what is known as the Slavophile movement. Now it is a remarkable fact that in Orthodox countries, and in Orthodox countries alone, the Church[1] has actively co-operated with, and even led, the national movements of which we are speaking. What a contrast those who have read both will have found between the writings of the Slavophiles of Russia, of the Aksakoffs, of Khomiakoff, Kireeffski, Danileffski, Samarin and Pobiedonostzeff, and the policy which they have advocated in respect to the Church of their country, and that of the Italian patriots, Mazzini and Cavour, or of the Prussian statesmen who brought about the unity of Germany! The very first act of the Prussian monarch in the direction of German unity was an act of religious violence. It was to force his own Lutheran Church to abandon all those of its distinctive tenets which could give offence to the German Calvinists, and then to force all of the latter who resided within his kingdom to do the same thing in favour of the Lutherans, after which he proceeded to amalgamate them into one body with himself as their *Summus Episcopus!* As for the relations between Church and State in Italy, during and since the attainment of national unity, they are too notorious to require any description. We all know of the difficulties that Pius IX had in the forties with his rebellious subjects; and have we not all heard of the sorrows of "the prisoner of the Vatican"? In a word, in Western Europe the national movements of this

[1] It is true that the Roman clergy, both amongst the Slavonic nationalities in Austria and in quarters nearer home, have occasionally taken an active part in the national movements of the century. But these movements, so far from committing the Church of Rome as a whole, have notoriously been undertaken independently of orders from headquarters.

nineteenth century have certainly not worked well with the Church.

How different has been the course of the national movement in Russia! The Slavophile movement, which, as far as its internal policy is concerned, may be well described in short as "Russia for the Russians, and not for the Germans or the Poles," was a distinctly religious and Orthodox, no less than a national and patriotic movement. The very same men who worked for the emancipation of the serfs in Russia, and for the emancipation of the nation from the ascendancy of foreign ideas, in many cases also wrote theological treatises of the very first importance, and carried on long and learned controversies in defence of Orthodoxy against its enemies at home and abroad: while they themselves, both in deed and in life, were the brightest ornaments of that Church which they loved so well, and for which they suffered so much. For it must be remembered, that so long as the ascendancy of foreign ideas continued in Russia, as in the earlier years of the century, it was no light thing to take up the defence of the National Church. Khomiakoff had to publish all his theological works, no less than his political writings, in foreign countries, for they were all forbidden by the Russian censorship to be printed or even read in Russia; while Samarin was actually thrown into prison in the Fortress of SS. Peter and Paul in St. Petersburg, in the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, for venturing to write against the German Protestants in the Baltic provinces. At the present time, all this is changed. The works of Khomiakoff are to be found in every theological seminary in the country, and his controversial writings and those of Samarin have become the standard books of reference whenever a Russian finds it necessary to defend his national religion. The Government is no longer either hostile or even apathetic; in fact, the religious movement, which began in Russia very much at the same time and for the same causes as did our Tractarian Movement, has not only gained toleration for itself in the country, but has actually been able to identify itself with, and even to guide, all the highest political aspirations of the nation.

In this mighty fact lies, in my opinion, all Russia's hopes for the future, just as in the history of her Church lies the secret of all her greatness in the past. Russia, like other nations, has been deeply affected by the movements and tendencies of the nineteenth century; but whereas those tendencies elsewhere have taken the form of a godless democracy always tending towards atheism and anarchy, and at best only controlled by a brutal military despotism hardly less objectionable than anarchy itself, it is in Russia alone, of all Continental states, that the popular movement, from the very first, has been linked with, and transformed by the elevating influences of a Church which, while thoroughly national in the fullest sense of the word, at the same time holds the Faith of Catholic Christendom in its purest and most uncorrupt form. Here, and here only, the nation, without either trampling upon the clerical estate, or being domineered over by it, has allowed itself to be guided by the very spirit of the Church, and is not ashamed to own to the fact. And is not this just as it should be? Perhaps some who are here present may remember the words of warning which Æschylus put into the mouth of Athênê, the patroness of his native city, in one of his tragedies, written just at the time when the Athenian democracy were beginning to remove the old landmarks, and were about to start headlong down the incline towards that uncontrolled form of popular government which was so swiftly followed by the destruction of their Empire:—

> Τὸ μήτ' ἄναρχον, μήτε δεσποτούμενον
> ἀστοῖς περιστέλλουσι βουλεύω σέβειν,
> καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν.
> τίς γὰρ, δεδοικὼς μηδὲν, ἔνδικος βροτῶν;[1]

"I counsel the citizens to reverence and maintain that which is neither anarchy nor tyranny, and not to cast forth all fear from the State; for what man among mortals that feareth nothing is righteous?"

These words of the Athenian poet are fully borne out in the

[1] Æsch. *Eum.* 696-9.

history of the rise and fall of every nation, Christian or Pagan, which the world has yet seen.[1]

National or political movements, no less than governments or individual rulers which cast aside τὸ δεινόν—that religious awe, which, in the Holy Scriptures and even in Pagan writings is termed "the fear of God"—are sure before long to end, either in anarchy, or in mere brute despotism. Russia, it is true, is, as was the Byzantine Empire, an autocracy. But it is often forgotten that, while in many respects the form of the Imperial Government of ancient Rome remained the same after, as before, the conversion of the empire to Christianity, the theory upon which the autocracy rested was profoundly changed. The emperor was no longer "ille Deus," but became Θεοῦ διάκονος. St. John Damascene, in his defence of the sacred images, showed that the worship due to monarchs, no less than to other εἰκόνες of the Deity was, not that of λατρεία, as had been the case under the Pagan Empire, but of τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις; while the τὸ δεσποτούμενον of Æschylus is exactly reproduced in his writings by τύραννος. And all this applies to "constitutional" governments no less than to monarchies. I might quote numerous passages from the Slavophile writers, in which they show the fatal effect of the separation of national and religious aspirations amongst the latest movements of Western Europe. But as this would involve too lengthy an explanation of the particular events to which we are in each case referred to, I prefer to quote once more from Æschylus. "He, who of his own free will, and without necessity is just and righteous, shall not be unhappy; utterly destroyed, at least, he can never be. But I declare that the transgressor who ventures upon a course contrary (to righteousness) will throw all things without justice into confusion, and, in time, when trouble shall have seized his sails, and broken the rigging of

[1] I am aware that Æschylus in this particular passage is referring to what we should term "constitutional checks" and not, immediately at least, to the restraints of religion. Still, if taken in context with the whole drift of the play (see e.g, the passage quoted below) there can be no doubt that he intended to imply the restraints of religious awe, no less than of the ancient institutions of his country.

his mast, he shall perish by violence. There, as he struggles in the midst of an unconquerable whirlpool, he invokes those who will listen to his prayer no more; but the Deity laughs at the rash and self-confident man, as he beholds him now no longer boasting, but bound in a calamity from which there is no escape, and trying in vain to make his way round the headland, where having dashed his former prosperity to pieces against the rock of righteousness, unwept, unknown, he perishes for ever."[1]

Now, although I have never seen this passage quoted by the Slavophile writers, I believe it to represent exactly their ideas with regard to government. It tallies exactly with the writings of Danileffski and Leontieff upon the present political and religious state of Western Europe; while, with regard to Khomiakoff, the friend of Pusey, Palmer, G. Williams, and many other early leaders of the Catholic movement, I can only say that I am at present translating a poem which he wrote in 1836 upon England, in which he dwells upon those ominous symptoms in the political and religious life of our country which called forth Keble's famous sermon upon our National Apostacy, and that I am quite at a loss which line out of the words I have quoted to select as a heading to my translation, any one of them would be so entirely appropriate.[2] But I must dwell no longer upon this; I will only say that, before there can be any question of Reunion between the Churches, the fact of this close relation between Russian national and religious aspirations must be realised and appreciated by English Churchmen; and that, rather than abuse Russia for having solved the most difficult question of the age, and indeed of all ages—viz. the reconciliation of the secular and religious aspirations of nations, in a manner which has resulted in their being able to work together to the pre-eminent advantage

[1] Æsch. *Eum.* 550-65.

[2] Birkbeck evidently refers to the poem "The Island," printed at the end of *Russia and the English Church* (cf. *ibid.* note, p. xxviii), but this was translated by William Palmer. If Birkbeck retranslated it I know nothing of the work.—[A.R.]

of both Church and State, we ought to be glad that such is the case, and to rejoice with her. Englishmen, whatever the political difficulties which they may have with her—and I do not deny that these are from time to time anything but insignificant, though perhaps this need not be so for ever[1]—have no reason whatever to wish to see Russia under an infidel Government, or that her Church should lose its influence in directing her destinies, or that her internal affairs should be directed according to the foreign ideas which obtained during the period of German Protestant ascendancy. I think that you will agree with me that the general feeling of the Church of England was *not* expressed when Mr. Shuttleworth, who formerly held a minor Canonry at St. Paul's, sent his curate last year to a meeting of the "Friends of Russian Freedom," a society founded at the suggestion of two or three well-known Nihilist refugees, to give them his views upon Russian affairs, and these views contained an expression to the effect that *bombs* in Russia were just as necessary as parliamentary discussion in England, and meant much the same thing. It seems a strange thing for a priest of the Church of England to have said, who, every time he celebrates the Holy Eucharist, beseeches the "Almighty and everliving God" to "save and defend all Christian kings, princes, and governors"! Anyhow, as a rule, Englishmen do not care for this sort of thing, neither have they any reason to wish to see the institutions of Russia or any other country altered in a direction contrary to the desires of the nation itself.

But it can be well understood that the Germans themselves, whether in or out of Russia, are not well pleased with their loss of influence; and this accounts for the attitude of the German press towards Russian affairs. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* They know full well that it is because of the strength that the Church has given to the national movement that they have lost that predominating position in the counsels of the nation which they formerly possessed, and which they had almost

[1] These words were written just twenty years before England entered the Great War as the ally of Russia.—[A.R.]

begun to look upon as a right: and hence all their hatred and abuse is concentrated upon the Church and its officers, whether ecclesiastical or lay. Read, for instance, the German papers upon the subject of Mr. Pobiedonostzeff, the chief Procurator of the Holy Synod. Any measure that may be taken by the Government which the Germans don't like, any fact about Russia, true or false, which may get into the papers, any mistake that her officials may make, or may be supposed to have made, in administering the law, any act of injustice which may, or may not, have been perpetuated in the Empire, from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean, is attributed to him. The recent legislation in the Baltic Provinces, and the so-called persecution of the Jews, are of course all of his contrivance, although the administration of all that concerns the non-Orthodox religious bodies is, as a matter of fact, controlled by a department of the Home Office, and has nothing whatever to do with the Holy Synod. The sanitary or insanitary condition of the Siberian prisons is of course his fault, although he has just about as much to do with the prisons in Russia as the Archbishop of Canterbury's Apparitor-General has with the prisons in England; in fact, in Germany he has for many years been made a sort of scapegoat for all the sins, real or imaginary, committed by the Government, or its officials, in Russia. It is extraordinary with what light heartedness even serious writers in Germany act upon the saying that "any stick is good enough to beat a dog with" in regard to this distinguished Russian Churchman. Even such a distinguished scholar as Mommsen, in a preface which he has lately written to an attack upon the Russian Government by a Belgium Professor, has not hesitated to apply the expression "*Torquemada ressuscité*" to him. When you have heard the history of this nick-name, you will be better able to judge whether it was worthy of such distinguished patronage. It was originally invented by the late editor of a Radical London evening paper, who had been to St. Petersburg in order to try and persuade Mr. Pobiedonostzeff to use his influence to obtain admission for the Salvation Army into Russia. In this he naturally had

failed, for the laws of Russia have never admitted foreign proselytism, and Mr. Pobiedonostzeff was not likely to go out of his way to persuade the Minister of the Interior to suggest to the Emperor a new law in favour of the admission of these "quack-soul-savers," as a distinguished Russian authoress has called them; inasmuch as he, together with the vast majority of his fellow-countrymen, have as little love for spiritual as we have for medical quacks. What did Mr. Stead[1] do upon his return? He devoted a sixth part of his book on Russia to abuse of the Russian Church, calling Mr. Pobiedonostzeff the "Shadow on the Throne," the "Grand Inquisitor," "*Laud Redivivus*," "*Torquemada Redivivus*," and what not. Well, this, although rather ignorant, was perhaps natural enough in Mr. Stead's case. Nonconformist education in England as a rule does not afford much insight into the difficult problems of ecclesiastical history. He could hardly be expected to be able to distinguish between freedom of practice and belief in the case of a man's *own* religion, which was what Torquemada tried to prevent, but which Russia has always allowed since the time of Peter the Great (that is to say, much longer than England itself), and permission to interfere with *other* people's religion, that is to say, permission for every grotesque ignoramus, every silly self-appointed apostle to enter Russia and experiment upon the simple-minded Russian peasantry, which is what Russia does not allow, and does not intend to allow. But all this, a serious historian like Professor Mommsen must know and be able to understand as well as anybody. And yet, in giving his *imprimatur* the other day to the above-mentioned book upon the Jewish question, with which Pobiedonostzeff has nothing whatever to do, inasmuch as he is not the Minister of the Interior, Mommsen, the most distinguished historian now living in Germany, and Professor of the Berlin University, adopts Stead's ignorant *soubriquet*, and speaks of the Chief Procurator as "*Torquemada ressuscité*". Nothing could more clearly show how right Samarin was in saying that Russians, when they went amongst Germans, always "found themselves confronted with a sentiment of incorrigible hostility,

[1] At this time editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.—[A.R.]

and a contempt which had become raised to the dignity of a national conviction". What should we think of one of our great historians, of the Bishop of Oxford or Professor Seeley for instance, if, in expressing their opinion of a German statesman (let us say, Prince Bismarck), it should turn out that the only reference quoted in making his charge against him was taken from the gutter journalism of the Paris Boulevards?

Such, then, is the attitude of German Protestantism towards Russia. I have dwelt upon it at great length, because I believe that the greatest hindrance to a growth of friendly feeling, which of course must precede any thought of ecclesiastical Reunion, is the fact that so many English Churchmen, and even high ecclesiastical dignitaries, seem to take all the so-called Russian news that is copied into our papers from the German and Austrian Press for granted, although the latter is known to be entirely in the hands of Roman Catholics, Jews, or Protestants. Of course, the Russians cannot expect every Englishman to sift the evidence for this and that statement; but they have a right at least to expect, when the highest authorities of our Church are constantly expressing a desire for Reunion with the East, that English Churchmen should not take everything that is said against their Church and country for granted. I have already said that the English Church is not committed by the eccentricities of individuals, more or less obscure, within her fold; but when some of her more responsible leaders enter upon a similar course it is difficult to persuade foreigners that the Church herself is not compromised. Few things produced a worse impression amongst Russian Churchmen than the fact that six English Bishops took part in the demonstration three years ago at the Guildhall against the so-called religious persecution of the Jews in Russia. I was in Russia a few weeks afterwards, and one constantly heard expressions such as: "Why, if the Archbishop of Canterbury really thinks that we Russian Orthodox persecute the Jews, did he write two years ago to our Metropolitan at Kieff, and say that he would like to see the Anglican and Russian Churches one *ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου*? If he really thinks

that we are a persecuting Church, why does he wish to be united with us?" As an example of how little the speakers on that occasion understood the question they were discussing, it will be sufficient to mention the Bishop of Ripon's speech at that meeting, in which he quoted as an instance of religious persecution the Sabbath candle-money (it must be remembered that it was just after the Lambeth Judgment, when the authorities of our Church came to the conclusion that the English clergy were no longer to be persecuted for the ceremonial use of candles!), whereas this and many other supposed instances of persecution which he brought forward were in reality nothing more than taxes put upon the Jews in by-gone days by *their own* Rabbis, and for the support of *their own* religious schools, which laws have since received the sanction of the State![1] I remember writing at the time to a friend in Russia, who is interested in the relations between the English and Russian Churches, and trying to make some excuse for the part that some of our Church dignitaries took in the matter in their want of knowledge of Russian affairs. His answer to me was, "We in Russia think it disgraceful and shameful for a man to talk and write upon a subject of which he knows nothing." And I can't help admitting the force of the argument. Englishmen, and especially English Churchmen, should remember that, though they for the most part cannot read Russian, most educated Russians can read English as well as German and French, and therefore if they have any respect for their own dignity, or pity for that of their country, they should be careful what they say upon Russian subjects.

[1] The earliest legislation of the Russian Government upon this matter was in the year 1845. The law will be found in Levanda's *Collection of Russian Laws Concerning the Jews*, p. 634.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PROSPECT OF REUNION WITH EASTERN CHRISTENDOM IN SPECIAL RELATION TO THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH (*continued*).

LET us now pass on to another point of constant misunderstanding, which must be clearly understood before there can be any thought of Reunion.

Nothing is more common in England, and especially amongst High Churchmen, than to hear the Russian Church accused of Erastianism—of being under bondage to the State. Sometimes, even amongst well-educated Church people, one hears the silly and ignorant expression "Cesaro-Papalism" made use of, which, originally invented, I believe, by a German Protestant, has been widely adopted amongst Roman Catholic writers. We have already spoken of the relations which ought to exist between the government and the religion of every country. Now let us see what is the actual form of government of the Russian Church. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, with the complete sanction of the four Eastern Patriarchs, the Patriarchate of Moscow was abolished, she has been governed by a Synod of Bishops, always sitting, entitled the Most Holy Governing Synod. This body is constituted somewhat upon the model of the ancient Œcumenical Councils, but, owing to the fact that it has always to be sitting, it is of course of much smaller dimensions. The three Metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Kieff, and Moscow are *ex-officio* members of this body, as has also been the Exarch of Georgia since the annexation of that kingdom to the Empire. The remaining prelates are any which the Holy Synod itself chooses to summon, either as permanent members (*chleny*), sitting for a certain number of months every year, or as tem-

porarily summoned to give their opinion upon some particular subject in which the Bishops in question may be experts. The number that may be summoned is not fixed, but as a rule there are eight or nine Bishops sitting at the same time. The table at which they sit, with the Emperor's throne at one end and the book of the Gospels and the Cross at the other, had, when I last saw it, places for ten arranged, but it is seldom that so many can be spared from their dioceses at the same time. As for the Emperor's throne, it means exactly as much as, and no more than, Constantine the Great presiding at the Council of Nicea, or his successors who summoned every one of those Councils which we all, Easterns and Westerns, acknowledge to be Œcumenical.[1] The authority of the Holy Synod itself in all purely ecclesiastical questions, or matters of doctrine and Church discipline is absolute and supreme: it is limited only by the Holy Scriptures, the decrees of the Seven Œcumenical Councils, the Creed, and the unbroken traditions of the whole Orthodox Church. The Bishops are elected in the following manner: The Holy Synod sends at least two, and not more than three, names to the Emperor, one of which he selects. I may say in passing that only once during the present century has the Emperor chosen any but the first of the names submitted to him. The candidate's nomination then takes place in the Holy Synod, all the Bishops who happen to be in the capital taking part in the ceremony, to which the public is admitted. His consecration generally follows in the course of the next two or three days.

The Emperor, as we have said, has a throne in the room where the Holy Synod assembles; but on ordinary occasions he is represented there by a layman, whom he himself appoints, entitled the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, who holds

[1] It is a fact worth noticing, that, while the seven Councils which East and West alike acknowledge as Œcumenical, were all summoned by the Emperor, the additional fourteen acknowledged as such by Rome, but not by the Easterns or ourselves (with one exception, viz. that summoned at Constantinople in 869 under the auspices of the Pope in order to depose Photius, and which the Eastern Church never accepted as Œcumenical), were convoked by the Pope.

very much the same position as did the Byzantine Emperor's commissioners at the meetings of the General Councils. All communications between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities have to go through him; but upon doctrinal or purely ecclesiastical questions he has no voice whatsoever, not even the right to speak, and accordingly during the sittings of the Synod, while he always has the right to be present, he sits at a separate table.

As to the charges of Cesaro-Papalism, the whole system must be judged of by the manner in which it has worked. The fact remains that, while personally several of the rulers of Russia have been by no means ill-disposed towards either Protestantism or Rationalism, no attempt has ever been made by any of them to interfere in any way with the doctrines of the Church. And if they were to do so, the history of the Byzantine Church, e.g. the Iconoclastic controversies, gives us every reason to believe that the Church would be able to hold her own. To speak of the Emperor of Russia as head of the Church in any such sense as the Pope claims to be head of the Roman Church is absurd. In the first place, how can he possibly influence the independent Synods of Greece, Servia, Roumania, and the Austrian Orthodox communities, or of the four Patriarchs in the Turkish Empire? And yet they each, no less than Russia herself, form integral portions of the Orthodox Church, and the Russian Church no less than they, is subject to, and acknowledges the authority of the Church as a whole. If, then, it be maintained that though he is not head of the whole Orthodox Church, yet that he is head of the Russian Church, which itself is only a portion of the Orthodox Church, and not independent of it, it would follow that he is subject to the *jurisdiction* of these independent Synods and Patriarchs—an obvious absurdity.

Moreover the office of head of the Church, if understood in the Papal sense, would involve the inclusion of sacerdotal powers and claims of infallibility. But what, after all, is the Russian theory of Monarchy? The Tzar simply represents the Russian people, and his power consists of what was com-

mitted to his ancestor Michael Romanoff when, after the older dynasty had died out, he was elected by the votes of the National Assembly. But the people could only hand over to him such rights as they themselves already possessed, and I don't think that anyone has yet ventured to maintain that the Russian or any other Orthodox people ever claimed the right of governing the Church. They, like all other Orthodox nations, had a right to a share in the election of their Bishops. This was indeed the case in early times at Rome itself. And this right the Russians could hand over to the Tzar, as we have already seen that they have done. Again, the nation had the right, and indeed the duty, of seeing that the decisions of the clergy and of their councils should be upheld, and to defend their religion against all attacks of foreigners from outside or heretics from within; and all this the Tzar, as representative of his people, claims to do, both as a right and as a duty. But the people never had any right to decide questions of conscience, ecclesiastical discipline, or dogmatic teaching, nor to supervise the spiritual government of the Church; and so of course they could not hand such powers over to the Tzar. And consequently no Russian Tzar has ever claimed such rights. I have already mentioned that the deposition of a patriarch and the establishment of the Holy Synod were both considered beyond the powers of the Tzar, and had to be brought about by the representatives of the whole Orthodox Church. This in itself shows that the Tzar is not the head of the Church in the Papal sense of the word, but merely that as head of the nation he represents the people's ecclesiastical as well as civil rights.

Such then are the relations between Church and State in Russia, and upon the whole they have worked well. There have, of course, been times when the secular power has encroached upon the Church. Ivan the Terrible actually caused St. Philip, the Metropolitan of Moscow, to be driven from the Capital and murdered when he rebuked him for his tyranny and vices. According to the Papal ideal, I suppose the Tzar ought rather to have been forced either by his subjects or by

foreigners to prostrate himself before St. Philip, and place his neck beneath his foot, as did Frederick Barbarossa before the Pope in the porch of St. Mark's at Venice. The Orthodox Church thinks otherwise. She openly confesses that her kingdom is not of this world. St. Gregory the Great wrote to the first Archbishop of Canterbury that "things are not to be loved for the sake of places (even of Rome itself), but places for the sake of good things done within them". And Khomiakoff observes that the Church is not "bound up with objects of inanimate nature, such as a particular place of residence, or with any particular scheme of diocesan organisation, or with a chair; for we all know who it was that at the time of the Saviour's Passion sat in the chair of Moses". The real successors of St. Peter are not those who are always picking quarrels with the secular power: on the contrary, St. Peter himself told Christian men in his first Catholic Epistle, to "submit themselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake," and made no exception in favour of his successors or any other ecclesiastical personages however exalted. Then He Who said that His kingdom was not of this world will take good care of His Body, which is the Church. I think this is tolerably closely the teaching of the Orthodox Church upon the vexed question of Church and State, and that I could produce chapter and verse from Orthodox writers for every sentence. I don't myself see how a better system could be devised. As a matter of fact, we find in history that whether the Church has possessed the power of interfering in the secular affairs of a country or not, no country, either Eastern or Western, whatever its political constitution may have been, has prospered so long as the Government itself has been in the hands of irreligious men; that even if the ecclesiastical authorities go beyond the limits of their legitimate sphere of influence, and attempt in the name of their Divine mission [1] to

[1] I have sometimes known Russians point to the existence of Bishops in our House of Lords as an undesirable remnant of Popery. So it would be, no doubt, if they claimed their seats *jure divino*, but this they do not do; while the State has a perfect right to attach certain baronies to certain sees, and

dictate to the secular power, they almost invariably do more harm than good; and that the Papal ideal, which seems to be either absolute submission of governments to the Pontifex Maximus, or else unceasing war between Church and State, has nowhere proved a success in the long run.

I have as yet said nothing about the dogmatic difficulties which lie in the way of such of us as are anxious to bring about the Reunion of our Church with the Orthodox Church of the East. My reason has been simply this—that I am convinced that the first step towards that longed-for consummation of our desires is that we should understand Russia, constituting, as she does, the principal Eparchy of the Eastern Church, better than we have hitherto done, and that we should try and get rid of some of our more superficial prejudices against her. All doctrinal questions are as nothing compared to a desire to be at one on both sides, and this cannot truly exist as long as we are ignorant of one another. Perhaps indeed I ought to stop here; but if you have patience enough to listen to me a little longer I will go through one or two points upon which the Orthodox Church and ourselves, at any rate as far as outward appearances are concerned, seems to differ. For although, as I have said, the *first* thing to be gained is "a kindly affection one to another with brotherly love," I am far from saying that it is the *only* or even the most difficult thing. It is the purest delusion in the world to think that Reunion will ever be brought about by dogmatic compromise, or by avoiding the frank discussion of first principles. I only mean to say that, when we go forth to meet our long separated brethren, we should rather, like Jacob, try to "appease them with a present," than begin operations by pelting them with mud. If we throw mud at a man, it is not only apt to stick, and so to prevent us from seeing him as he is, but some of it is very likely to go into his eyes and prevent him seeing us so well as we should wish. And therefore mud throwing is not wise.

the Peers Spiritual have just as much right to make use of the rights which the State has given them, as have either the Peers Temporal or the members of the House of Commons.

But even when we have reached the stage of being able to hold intercourse one with another upon reasonable conditions of Christian courtesy, we must not expect the Russian Church to enter into any compromise with us upon subjects which they regard as vital truths. The Orthodox Church, however much she wishes and even prays for Unity, does not believe in undenominational Christianity, and will never play the part of poor Gretchen in Goethe's *Faust*, who at first protested against her lover's heterodoxy, but when he clothed his religious ideas in certain specious phrases, ending with

> Happiness—heart—love—God
> I have no name for it—Feeling is all;
> Names are but sound and smoke
> Dimming the glow of heaven.

replied that she was perfectly satisfied, and heard much the same thing from the parson in church on Sundays,

> Nur mit ein Biszchen andern Worten,

that is to say, "only with a slightly different way of putting it!"

This sort of thing will never do for the Holy Eastern Church; and all suggestions of first entering into *Communio in sacris*, and leaving what exactly it is that we believe to be arranged at some future time, make the Easterns think that after all we are nothing but a Protestant sect. Communion in Faith is not only quite as necessary as Communion in Sacraments, but must in the very nature of things precede it; and certain clearly marked differences, not I hope in the Faith itself, but in ways of putting it both into language and into practice will have to be faced.

For this it is necessary that we should first know one another's theological writings. I, for my part, always wish that our theologians could more often be brought into intercommunication with those of Russia. The whole conception of the Orthodox concerning the relations which exist between the science of theology and the Church, is so entirely favourable, compared with that of the Roman Catholics or Protestants, to a dispassionate and impartial discussion of doubtful

points, that nothing but good can come of it. The Orthodox Church is sometimes described as illogical. She is so in one respect, inasmuch as she absolutely refuses to allow her theologians to make syllogisms out of her dogmatical definitions, with a view to creating fresh dogmas out of them. She entirely disbelieves in the modern Roman theory of the development of Christian Doctrine. Like the aged President of Magdalen, Dr. Routh, when he was asked what he thought of Newman's famous essay, she admits of a development of *statement*, but not of *doctrine:* that is to say, that she may find and authorise a definition of a doctrine held, believed in, and acted upon in the Church from the earliest ages, but she does not allow that because certain dogmas held from the beginning seem to theologians of this or that school to lead, by a logical process, to fresh dogmas, and because the advocates of this new inference may seem able to maintain their argument against all opponents, that the Church has the right to make a new dogma, and to force the result of their syllogistic deductions upon the faithful as an article of faith. Let us take, for instance, Cardinal Newman's arguments [1] in favour of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady. I select this particular instance purposely in order to illustrate by one example a difference which exists between the Easterns on the one hand, and both the English Church (as far at least as its popular teaching is concerned) and Rome. He tells us first that the Fathers regarded the Blessed Virgin as occupying the same place in the Divine economy for the redemption of Man as Eve occupied in the Fall of Man. And of this, however much some people may dislike facing the fact, there can be no doubt whatsoever. The passages from St. Justin Martyr, representing Palestine, and of Tertullian representing Africa and Rome, and of St. Irenæus who represented not merely Asia Minor and Gaul, but also the teaching of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, all three of whom lived in the second century after Christ, make it perfectly clear that the early Church did not look upon the position of

[1] *Anglican Difficulties* (edition 1891); vol. ii., p. 26, etc.

the Blessed Virgin in the Divine economy in the same light as do the Protestants or the vast majority of Anglicans at the present day; but would with all their hearts have said, as the Eastern Church does at the present day: "We place our hopes in thee alone, O Mother of God," and, "Thou art the salvation of the Christian race." [1] By this the Fathers would not have meant, neither does the Eastern Church mean, to substitute the Mother for her Son, but merely to enforce and to bring into the every-day round of the Christian life of prayer and praise the fact that, in so far as the purposes of God have been revealed to us, mankind owes his salvation to Mary, every bit as much as he owes his fall to Eve. No one who is not prepared to deny the freewill of man—and this, according to the teaching of St. John Damascene, would be to deny that God created man in His own image—can refuse to recognise the fact that it was through the exercise of that freewill with which God, together with the rest of His rational creation, had endowed Mary, that His purposes for our redemption were accomplished when and as they were: and that in this sense our salvation is due to Mary's correspondence with the grace that was given to her, just as the Fall of Man was due to Eve's perfectly free non-correspondence with the grace which God, inasmuch as "He is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able," had undoubtedly given her. The man who would object to ascribe his redemption in one sense, but at the same time in a very real sense, to the perfectly free agency of Mary as recorded in the first chapter of St. Luke, and could not accept the statement, accepted long before the Great Schism by East and West

[1] Irenaeus, *Contr. Haer*, v. 19. Et si ea [Eva] inobedierat Deo; sed haec [Maria] suasa est obedire Deo, *uti virginis Evae Virgo Maria fieret Advocata.* Quem ad modum astrictum est morti genus humanum per Virginem, salvatur per Virginem, etc.

[Some MSS. read *solvitur* or *solvatur*, and St. Augustine quotes the passage so: of course, the original Greek word is not known, but both mean the same thing.]

Again, Irenaeus, *Contr. Haer.* iii. 22, speaks of Mary as *obediens, et sibi, et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis.* This is almost exactly the same as *σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ γένους τῶν χριστιανῶν.*

alike, that in one sense Mary alone saves as (just as in one sense we English Churchmen say that we are saved by faith *only*) must reject the doctrine of freewill altogether. As far as statement is concerned, the East speaks as strongly, and perhaps even more strongly, than the more reserved West with regard to our Lady's place in the scheme of Redemption; but as far as doctrine is concerned, in the earliest times they agreed, and the East has not changed. Before there is any chance of Reunion with the East, the English Church will have to become very much nearer to what it was in the days which preceded the great schism in the eleventh century than it is at present.[1] But now with regard to Development. Cardinal Newman, in the passage to which I am referring, goes on to argue that inasmuch as the early Fathers speak of the Blessed Virgin as the second Eve, she must have had all those endowments which Eve possessed before the Fall. "Is it any violent inference," he says, "that she, who was to co-operate in the redemption of the world, at least was not less endowed with power from on high, than she who, given as a help-mate to her husband, did in the event but co-operate with him for his ruin?" And thus he attempts to show that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was a logical development from the teaching of the early Church concerning the second Eve. Now all such development of *dogma*—I am not speaking of theological *opinion*[2]—as this the Eastern Church

[1] I may here say, in passing, that to the Easterns the idea that many Anglicans hold that the Blessed Virgin and the Saints cannot hear us when we ask them to intercede for us, appears (as Khomiakoff wrote to W. Palmer of Magdalen) too un-Christian and materialistic to be even so much as discussed. Just as if the God in whom "we live and move and have our being" could not make the saints hear us quite as easily as He is able to make our voices intelligible to one another in ordinary conversation. Moreover they believe that if it had not been His will that this communion of prayer between the living and departed should exist, then the Church which is His Body and in which His Spirit dwells would not have permitted and encouraged such prayers.

[2] While Professor Damalas of Athens, and possibly some other Orthodox theologians have defended this doctrine as a lawful theological opinion, none of them hold it to be an article of Faith, while by far the greater number, including all the prominent Russian theologians, reject it entirely. See,

utterly and entirely rejects. She will not admit of the creation of fresh dogmas through the scientific investigations of theologians. She allows of development of statement and definition as occasion may require, but not of doctrine. I will quote from a very able article upon the Old Catholics which appeared last year in Russia :—

"The domain of the science of theology is wider than that of the Church. The Church, in that, in the matter of religion, she places no bonds on her members' freedom of will, and values above everything their voluntary (and not forced) moral-religious development, places no bonds upon the man of science, whether natural or religious, in the matter of scientific investigations. She simply bids him remember that his intellect is that of an individual man, who is exercising his faculty of learning, not in independence of the necessity of media for the cognition of the object of his learning, but on the contrary, in dependence upon a medium : that medium being his intellect ; and that this medium is limited, feeble, and inadequate ; and she reminds him that if, in consequence of this, he falls into error, or gets a rub (while wandering) in the foggy sphere of heterodoxy, she herself will serve for him as a torch and beacon to light him on his way, always being sensitively ready to come to the assistance of a man who is in trouble or distress, provided only that he does not brush her aside in consequence of his pride and self-conceit—that principle of pride, which first brought sin, which is the corrupter of human understanding, into the world—and placed man in a mediate instead of an immediate relation to the subject of his learning.[1] In the indefinite and misty region of

for instance, Nicanor, Archbishop of Kherson and Odessa, in his treatise upon *The Heretical Tendencies of the Doctrine of the Roman Church*, and Khomiakoff in his essay upon the *Unity of the Church*.

[1] This passage refers to the direct or immediate knowledge which Adam originally had in God and lost by the Fall. It is stated thus in the *Orthodox Confession*, Question 23: "The innocence of Adam before the Fall (was) joined with a most complete and perfect rectitude and innate justice of both will and understanding. So that in his understanding all knowledge was included. . . . For inasmuch as Adam had a perfect knowledge of God, therefore in knowing of God he knew all other things through God (μετ' ἐκεῖνον)

knowledge she serves in the fullest sense of the word for the man of learning as the brazen serpent, on which those of the ancient Israelites, who looked, as they journeyed in the barren and waterless desert, were cured of the poison of the serpents' bite. Go—says the Church to the man of learning—go boldly and confidently forward; do not fear the boundlessness or darkness of the domain of learning, widen out thine own sphere of knowledge, and dig down into the depth—I will always follow thee, and will answer to thy call, however far and deep down thou mayest have gone from me, no distance of space, no thickness of darkness, will conceal me from thee; I will pour out light upon thee, and will serve as a standard for thee at any distance or any depth, inasmuch as to the subject of thy personal knowledge thou hast relation through the mean of the limited and fallible understanding of man, while I will have relation to it outside any medium, and outside any error, and therefore to me alone is the true cognisance of the very essence of the subject accessible."

It is just in the fact that the theologians of the Orthodox Church are able to take a line of this kind, without feeling themselves compromised, that the chief hope lies for the two Churches ever being able to arrive within speaking distance of one another. Reunion is still very distant: quite beyond the range of practical politics for the present. Let us first understand one another. That will at least be one step, and a very great step, gained toward the cause which we all have at heart.

as appeared when all creatures came to Adam to be named: for he gave them all names expressive of the several natures and dispositions *which he knew, not from any experience, but from that knowledge of things which by the Grace of God he had.* . . . But when by transgressing he had sinned . . . losing the perfection of his reason and understanding, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CORONATION OF THE TZAR.

EARLY in 1896 we discussed at length the approaching Coronation of the Tzar, and the possibility of a representative of the Church of England at the ceremony. Our friend Lord Halifax[1] was early brought into the consultation, and it was finally resolved to initiate the project, if it were possible, through the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII). Lord Halifax wrote to the Prince on the subject, and received the following reply :—

"CANNES, *29th March*, 1896.

"Many thanks for your letter of the 26th. I entirely share your views and those of Mr. Birkbeck that it would be an excellent thing if one of our bishops attended the Coronation at Moscow in May. Some time ago I mentioned the subject to my brother,[2] who is to represent the Queen, and he spoke to her on the subject. The names of the Bishops of Winchester and Peterborough were mentioned. The Queen seemed to have no objection, but did not think it would be advisable for them to go out in my brother's suite.

"I should have thought if the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Lord Salisbury on the subject, it would be a very good thing. I hope to see him in a few days, and will mention the subject to him—anyhow it will give me great pleasure to see Mr. Birkbeck on my return home, and hear his impressions of Russia."

[1] Charles, Viscount Halifax, President of the English Church Union. He had been a member of the Prince of Wales' household.

[2] The Duke of Connaught.

Shortly afterwards I received a letter on the subject from Archbishop Benson, who was then staying at Florence and thereupon drew up a memorandum on the proposal and forwarded it to the Archbishop, supplementing this by the following letter as soon as I had seen Birkbeck :—

"Since writing to your Grace, Mr. Birkbeck has come down from London in response to my telegram, so I can now give further and better information on the subject of the proposed journey of the Bishop to the Russian Coronation.

"We assume that an official invitation has come for a representative of the Church of England to attend that ceremony, or else that the Emperor has intimated through the Queen or the Prince of Wales that a Bishop would be welcomed at Moscow. If this be the case we suppose your Grace does not want information as to the answer to the invitation—which would naturally be sent to the source from which the invitation came—but on the letter commendatory to the ecclesiastical authorities. In this case Mr. Birkbeck has no doubt that the President of the Holy Synod is the proper person to address. . . ."

The Archbishop replied :—

"Florence, 21*st April*, 1896.

"My dear Riley,

"I very heartily thank you for all the trouble you have so kindly and fully taken in consulting Mr. Birkbeck and giving me your own views.

"All will be most useful, for time will be so short, but I want not to have to inquire after the expected invitation arrives. Until it does so I, of course, want everything kept quite quiet.

"The sheet giving the title and also the correction have duly arrived, and for the present I have all that seems necessary. I shall write again if anything fresh suggests doubts.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"E. Cantuar."

All was soon settled officially, and nothing remained but the choice of the prelate. Finally, with Queen Victoria's approval, Bishop Creighton of Peterborough [1] was selected as the representative of the English Church. A scholar and an historian of great reputation, no better choice could have been made. The following was the official letter which the Bishop took to Russia :—

Edward, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England, and Metropolitan, to Palladius, the Most Reverend Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, President of the Most Holy Governing Synod of All the Russias, Very Reverend Abbot of the Lavra of the Most Religious Grand Duke St. Alexander Nevsky, Sendeth Greeting in the Lord.

We are most desirous to testify, on the solemn occasion of the approaching Coronation, the truly deep and sympathetic reverence which the Church of England entertains towards the Throne and Person of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, over which, in all loyal devotion to His Imperial Majesty, your Eminence most worthily presides.

We have therefore delegated one of the principal Prelates of our Church, the Right Reverend Mandell Creighton, Doctor of Divinity, Lord Bishop of Peterborough, a distinguished historian, and one of the most learned of living scholars and divines, to convey to your Eminence the assurance of these sentiments.

Her Majesty the Queen, our Most Religious and Gracious Sovereign, has been pleased to express Her approval of this our desire of the delegation of the Right Reverend Bishop.

We earnestly commit him, therefore, to your Eminence's fatherly kindness, and are assured that you will accept the affection with which we welcome the opportunity of express-

[1] Afterwards Bishop of London. He died at a comparatively early age in 1900.

ing the love and charity which binds us to you in Christ Jesus, Our Lord.

We unite our prayers with yours to the All Holy and Blessed Trinity, Three Persons and One God, for the peace and stability of your Orthodox Church and Empire, at a moment when you are rejoicing in hope of all temporal, spiritual, and eternal blessings to be poured upon your Nation and their August Sovereign, and imploring for Him a long and happy reign in honour, justice, and mercy, and in possession of the hearts of His people.

EDW. CANTUAR.

Given at Lambeth Palace, on the 6th day of May, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-six and of our Translation the fourteenth.

Birkbeck was naturally appointed to attend upon Bishop Creighton, and the following letter from him to Lord Halifax gives an account of the proceedings :—

"HÔTEL D'EUROPE,
"ST. PETERSBURG, *June* 15/27, 1893.

"I arrived here on Thursday from Moscow. As far as the Bishop of Peterborough at the Coronation is concerned, I think he was a great success. He was full of tact and *savoir faire ;* and all the Russians, from the Emperor downwards, who saw him, seemed to be thoroughly pleased. He dined twice with, and was received twice besides, by the Emperor. Pobiedonostzeff and he mutually appreciated each other, as I always knew they would. The Russians everywhere expressed their gratification at the fact that the English Church had made such a striking new departure, and the Archbishop's letters, both to the Metropolitan and to Pobiedonostzeff, were exactly the right thing, and have given great satisfaction. Last week, when I was in Moscow, the Metropolitan sent the reply address, which he is sending in the name of the Holy Synod to the Archbishop, to the Rumiantzeff Museum to be illuminated, and yesterday Pobiedonostzeff gave it to me, and asked me to take it to England, while he himself is going to write to the

Archbishop, and has asked me to spend the afternoon to-morrow in the country with him, and to furnish him with hints as to the Archbishop's titles, etc., so as to make his letter as acceptable as possible.

"The Bishop of Peterborough was a charming companion, and I hope didn't get bored with me; I certainly didn't with him, although in our discussions on matters in general we didn't always agree. As far as Russia was concerned, he was most appreciative. He preached two excellent sermons in the English Church, especially one on Trinity Sunday, in which he talked about worship, and said how that the English in Russia, even if they saw around them modes of worship to which they were not accustomed, might at least learn a lesson from a nation which so evidently put the worship of God, whether in the streets, or in their houses, or in their churches, before everything else, and expressed in that worship all the articles of the Christian faith in better proportion than any other Church in Christendom. These certainly are my sentiments, but I never expected to hear an English bishop express them; it was so refreshing to be with a man who wasn't shocked at imaginary idolatries, but who tried to put a good construction upon everything he saw. It was most gratifying to me to see how the charm of Moscow grew upon him, until he became almost as enthusiastic as I am. He was delighted with Pobiedonostzeff, who, he said, was the only statesman whom he had ever met, with definite principles, upon which, whether they were right or wrong, all his actions were evidently based.

"As for myself, I have been more than well treated. As I told you before I left, there was a difficulty about my getting into the Cathedral for the actual Coronation, as the place which Pobiedonostzeff had secured for me had to be given up to the Bishop. However, the day before the public entry into Moscow, the Emperor asked Pobiedonostzeff whether I had come, and when he heard I had, he said, 'I am very glad, and I hope he will see everything as well as possible'. Armed with this, Pobiedonostzeff went to the Kremlin to Prince

Dolgoruki, who had the arrangement of the places, and said that I *must* be provided with a good place, and I ended by having quite the best in the whole Cathedral, about twenty yards in front of the Emperor and the two Empresses, from where I could see, not only nearly every one in the church (except part of the diplomatic body), but the whole front of the screen, where all the ceremonial took place, as well as the doorway where the Emperor and all the processions entered from the Kremlin yard. It was a wonderful occasion, and I think few even of the foreigners who were there got through the service with perfectly dry eyes or without an occasional gulp in their throats. The arrival of the widowed Empress, alone, crowned and in the Imperial robes, amidst the guns and bells and wonderful cheers of the people, was the first great feature, and was quite heart-rending; but her bravery, both when she was received at the door by the ecclesiastics and went to salute the icons, and when she took her place, was perfectly astonishing. Then, about forty minutes after, the Emperor and Empress arrived. They were received outside the door by the three Metropolitans and the clergy, and were sprinkled with holy water and kissed the cross; after which they came in and went the round to the icons of the Saviour and the Mother of God, while the huge choir sang quite softly, 'My song shall be of mercy and judgment'. And then, when from the rather stilted, grandiloquent phraseology of his speeches in the third person to the Emperor, the Metropolitan suddenly changed to the ordinary language of a father to a son: 'What dost thou believe?' And the Emperor recited the Nicene Creed, standing there in the middle of the church in front of his throne, quite quietly, and yet so clearly and distinctly that every word could be heard all over the church. It really was magnificent.

"The Duke of Connaught was a great success here: everybody seemed to like him, and he had such a particularly nice suite with him, every one of which was thoroughly popular with the Russians. Of course it wasn't quite the same thing as the Prince of Wales, whom people here know so much better,

and were decidedly disappointed not to see at the Coronation, but still he certainly was one of, if not the *most*, popular of the foreign royalties. I need hardly say that I told every one all the nice things the Prince of Wales had said to me about Moscow. He is certainly very much liked here; one could see that by the way every one was pleased at his winning the Derby. I don't know how many people at the big Kremlin ball, which took place the day after, didn't mention it to me; they seemed quite as pleased as the English about it.

"I saw Agliardi,[1] but only for a short talk; he was pleased with the Russians, and in some respects very envious, but expressed himself shocked at 'superstitions' connected with the icons. He said some very nice things about English piety, etc., etc., and talked about how he had travelled on English ships, and had seen young men at the service on Sundays, etc., etc., but he was absolutely ignorant upon our ecclesiastical matters. I only saw him the day he was leaving. My interview with him was cut short by the arrival of Izvoljski[2] (to whom I introduced you in Rome), to take leave of him. He was evidently much concerned about the Bishop of Peterborough, and asked how it had all come about. I told him that it was simply the result of the reunion spirit now awakened in the English Church, and that though actual reunion might at present be far distant, it would come some day —perhaps sooner than many people thought—and in the meantime we were determined to avail ourselves of any opportunity of removing obstacles and misunderstandings, whether in respect to the East or to the West."

Bishop Creighton wrote from Russia to Queen Victoria, and on his return to England sent Her Majesty a full account of the Coronation and its attendant ceremonies. The Queen's interest in the

[1] The Envoy from the Pope; afterwards a Cardinal. He died in 1916.—[A.R.]

[2] Russian Minister at Rome, accredited to the Vatican, late Minister of Foreign Affairs in Russia, afterwards Ambassador at Paris.—[A.R.]

proceedings may be seen from the following letter to the Bishop. The whole affair was, in fact, the greatest success, and to have carried it through without a hitch from first to last was one of Birkbeck's happiest reminiscences.

"Balmoral Castle, *June* 11, 1896.

"The Queen wishes to express her warmest thanks to the Bishop of Peterborough for his most interesting and instructive letter. The description was so vivid and so beautifully written that it enables the Queen to understand and follow it all as no other description has done to the same extent.

"The Queen feels like a mother to the dear young Empress, who lost her mother at such an early age and then her father.

"She was very often in England from her earliest childhood, and the Queen has also a great affection for the young Emperor. How terrible that this awful catastrophe should have occurred to cast such a gloom over everything.[1]

"The Queen hopes to see the Bishop on her return to England."

"Balmoral Castle, *September* 8, 1896.

"The Queen is most grateful to the Bishop of Peterborough for his enlarged and beautiful account of the Coronation at Moscow, and feels sure that the Empress of Russia would be delighted to receive a copy.

"The Queen will give it to her dear grand-daughter if the Bishop will send it to the Queen.

"She trusts she may not seem very indiscreet if she asks him to let her have a few more copies for her children. It is impossible to describe anything more admirably and graphically than the Bishop has done, giving at the same time such an interesting description of what such an act signified.

"How the Queen wishes she could have seen it."

[1] The terrible panic and loss of life at the great open-air entertainment of the poorer classes at Moscow.—[A.R.].

CHAPTER IX.

THE VISIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO RUSSIA.

In 1897, the year following the Coronation, Archbishop Maclagan resolved to pay a visit to Russia. I received an invitation to go to Bishopthorpe to discuss the matter. Birkbeck arrived the same evening. I well remember our dismay when we found that it was proposed to combine an official with a domestic tour and that Mrs. Maclagan had quite made up her mind to accompany her husband! We sat up in one of our bedrooms discussing the situation till nearly three o'clock in the morning! In the event the disaster was averted through Bishop Creighton, who pointed out the impossibility of this proceeding and the fact that he had recognised it by leaving Mrs. Creighton behind the previous year. It may not be generally known that the Eastern Church finally adopted the rule that if a married man be promoted to the episcopate his wife must separate, by canon in the Concilium in Trullo, 691. Practically the bishops are always unmarried (widowers are eligible). Of course, the marriage of persons actually in Holy Orders is forbidden by the immemorial law of the Catholic Church. Since that time Anglican bishops have been the only bishops living in the marriage state.[1]

[1] An amusing incident occurred whilst Archbishop Maclagan was in Russia. A young Russian nobleman had been attached to his suite and one day the Archbishop handed him a message with the remark, "Please send

Of this visit Birkbeck gave the following account in the columns of the *Guardian*:—

Having been asked to write some account of the Archbishop of York's visit to Russia, I have thought that it would be best to divide it into two sections, the first of which contains an account of the extremely friendly attitude of the Russian Press towards his journey, while the second will contain an account of his reception in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and the great Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, and of his return journey through the western provinces of Russia. The English churchman who is not satisfied, and more than satisfied, at the extraordinarily warm and sympathetic welcome afforded everywhere to our Primate must indeed be hard to please.

I.—Articles in the Russian Press.

Throughout the six days which the Archbishop spent in St. Petersburg, the newspapers, both secular and ecclesiastical, were filled with sympathetic articles, welcoming him to Russia, and describing all his movements day by day. Foremost amongst these must be mentioned a long article written by the Very Rev. Archpriest E. Smirnoff, chaplain to the Russian Embassy in London, in the *Tzerkovnyja Viedomosti* (*Church Gazette*), which is the official weekly journal of the Russian Holy Synod, and is sent regularly to every bishop and priest in the Russian Empire.

The Archpriest begins by pointing out the growing interest taken by English Churchmen in the Russian Church, and by indicating its causes :—

"The hearty reception afforded in St. Petersburg last year to Bishop Wilkinson [the attendance of] Bishop Nicholas of Alaska and the Aleutian islands in St. Paul's Cathedral in London [in a stall during evensong], and his prayer pronounced

this telegram to my wife". Later the Russian said to Birkbeck, "When I got to the telegraph office I was puzzled how to address an Archbishop's wife ; I hope I did right". "What did you put," replied Birkbeck. "Her Grace the Lady Archbishop of York." He was unaware of the equivocal position occupied by English bishops' ladies!—[A.R.]

there 'for the peace of all the world, for the welfare of the holy Churches of God and for the union of all,' and the presence of a representative of the English Church, in the person of the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Mandell Creighton (who has since then been raised to the see of London), at Moscow for the solemnities of the Coronation, have aroused and strengthened to a remarkable degree the interest taken by English Churchmen in the Orthodox Church of Russia. The conduct of Rome towards the English Church during the last few years has also co-operated in bringing this about. After having some two years ago published a Bull *Ad Anglos*, in which the Anglicans were invited to forget their secular enmity towards the Papal See and to reunite themselves with the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Leo XIII in the month of September last year issued a fresh Bull, in which he declared the Anglican priesthood to be null and void. Having thus torn up by the roots any expectation that may have been entertained amongst Anglicans of a favourable solution on his part of one of the most complicated and difficult of their ecclesiastical questions, and having thereby finally destroyed all hopes of a peaceful restoration of ecclesiastical communion between their Church and the Church of Rome, Pope Leo XIII himself, little as he certainly intended it, has caused English Churchmen to turn their attention all the more to the Orthodox Church."

The Archpriest then goes on to enumerate other circumstances which have contributed to the same result, such as the frequent journeys of English Churchmen to Russia, their ever-increasing knowledge of the Russian Church, and the many articles which have appeared in the English Press upon the subject, which have called forth a correspondingly increasing interest and sympathy in the Russian Press towards all attempts at drawing the two Churches nearer to one another. I take this opportunity to thank him for the very kind terms in which he speaks of my own share in this work. He especially mentions the publication by the Eastern Church Association of the correspondence of Khomiakoff and Palmer,[1]

[1] *Russia and the English Church*, Vol. I.—[A.R.]

and relates how he had heard the Bishop of Salisbury recommend his ordination candidates to study it. It is to these causes that he attributes the journey of the Archbishop of York, who, after having visited during his lifetime most parts of the world except those parts where the Orthodox Church exists:—

"Has now in the eventide of his life resolved personally to visit the land of Orthodoxy, and to experience for himself the impressions which the majesty and the sanctity of the Orthodox Church will produce upon him. We cordially welcome this his good intention, and with all our hearts pray to God that He Himself, the Lord Almighty, may so direct his footsteps on our soil, that out of this small seed, as from the grain of mustard seed, a great tree may in due season spring up to the benefit of the two Churches of Christ, the Orthodox and Anglican Churches."

This passage is followed by a long and extremely sympathetic account of the Archbishop's career, describing his life in the Indian army, his ordination, his work in his two London parishes, as well as in his first diocese of Lichfield. Coming to his elevation to the Archbishopric of York in 1891, after describing the organisation of the Northern Province, and the Archbishop's relation both to it and to his own diocese of York, the Archpriest gives a most appreciative account of the Archbishop's diocesan administration, laying special stress upon his having, during the first three years of his Episcopate, visited every parish, and performed Divine service in every one of the 609 churches of his diocese.

After describing his skill as an administrator and organiser, his revival of the York Diocesan Synod in 1894, and the usefulness of the measure, and after mentioning that he had twice in his life presided over the Church Congress, he continues:—

"The constant practice of forty years has developed in him a magnificent preacher. He is constantly invited to address large and important general meetings of the clergy. This was the case at the opening of the Church Congress at Cardiff, in 1889, and again at Norwich, in 1895. On this

latter occasion I myself had the good fortune to hear him. His sermon took the form of a reply to the Pope's Bull, *Ad Anglos*. It impressed us not only by its complete refutation of the pretensions of the Papacy, but also by its moderation and profound Church feeling. Here, in very truth, we had an answer on Church lines to the Papal See, which carried the mind back to the times, long since gone by, of those early days when the mighty words of the great doctors and fathers of the Church resounded forth from her pulpits. This sermon was at the time translated into Russian, and appeared in the pages of the *Tzerkovny Viestnik* (*vide T.V.* 26 Oct., 1895).

"Three weeks ago there was published in England an Encyclical Letter of the two English Archbishops of Canterbury and York, drawn up in reply to the Bull published by Pope Leo XIII in September last year, declaring the priesthood of the Anglican Church to be null and void. Without doubt this letter, setting forth the views of the highest representatives of Anglicanism upon their Church, is one of the most important documents which has ever appeared in the Church of England. But this circumstance by no means exhausts its significance. Signed as it is by the two Archbishops, it is now being sent from London to all the Bishops of the Christian Churches, and thereby assumes as it were an œcumenical significance, inasmuch as it transfers the private dispute between the Anglican and Roman Churches to the consideration and judgment of the whole Catholic Church of Christ here upon earth. It is too early at present to estimate at its full measure the importance of this event. But one thing is at least clear, which is, that this Encyclical removes Anglicanism further than ever from Roman Catholicism and draws it nearer to the East; and in this fact, we are convinced, lies the underlying importance of the whole of its contents.

"A few days ago this important document was sent from London to the following Bishops of our Church: The Metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Kieff, and Moscow; the Exarch of Georgia; the Archbishops of Finland, Novgorod, Warsaw, and Irkutsk; and to all the other Bishops who are at present

members of the Holy Synod; and likewise to the Rectors of the four ecclesiastical Academies of St. Petersburg, Kieff, Moscow, and Kazan, as well as to the Emperor's chaplain, the Protopresbyter Janysheff, and to the Dean of St. Isaac's Cathedral in St. Petersburg, the Archpriest P. Smirnoff. It will also shortly be sent to all the other Bishops of the Russian Church. It will be seen from this what an unusually high significance from a Catholic and œcumenical point of view English Churchmen at the present day attach to our Church in respect to their dispute with Rome. And this is further emphasised by the fact that for us in Russia the Encyclical is accompanied by the following brotherly expression of feeling, printed in the Russian language, and signed by both Archbishops :—

"My lord Archbishop [or Bishop]

"Dearly beloved Archpastor, and Father in God!

"In brotherly love and with sincere respect we have the honour to place before your Grace [Lordship] the enclosed encyclical letter, which contains an exposition of the teaching of the English Church in respect to certain matters of faith, and which has been drawn up by us for the consideration in the spirit of Christian fraternity of all the Bishops of the Holy Catholic Church.

"With fraternal love, and with prayer for the well-being of the flock of Christ committed to your charge, we have the honour to be,

"Your Grace's [Lordship's] most devoted servants and brothers in the Lord,

"Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan.

"William, Archbishop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan.

"London, Lambeth Palace; on the day (New Style) of the Annunciation [*Blagovieshchenie* = εὐαγγελισμὸς] of the most holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, in the year of our Salvation, 1897."

"This letter, dated on Lady-day, according to New Style,

was sent off from London so that it should arrive in St. Petersburg and Moscow on our Lady-day, which, according to the Old Style, is twelve days later. What a beautiful idea! Serving as a message of good tidings (*blágoju viéstiju*) on the part of the Church which sent the Encyclical, it should likewise serve as a message of good tidings for the Church which receives it! [The play of words in the Russian original depends upon the Russian word for Lady-day, *blagoviéshchenie*, a word exactly corresponding to the Greek εὐαγγελισμός.]

"It is impossible not to rejoice in the fact that one of the signatories of this important document is the distinguished Churchman who is so soon to be our guest. The Archbishop has long been following with the closest interest and attention the growth of sympathy between the English and Orthodox Churches, and has now resolved on a journey to Russia to acquaint himself with Orthodoxy on its own soil. He leaves London on our Lady-day, 25 March, Old Style, and will arrive at the end of the fifth week of the great fast in St. Petersburg. He intends to pass the sixth week [our Passion Week] in our northern capital, and then to spend Holy Week and Easter in Moscow; after which in Easter week he will visit the Troitza Lavra of St. Sergius, and the New Jerusalem, returning through Warsaw to England. Mr. Birkbeck is accompanying him on his journey, and by reason of his knowledge of our Church and of our holy places the Archbishop could not have provided himself with a better guide. This is the tenth time Mr. Birkbeck journeys to Russia, etc.

"May the Lord God bestow His blessing on their journey, upon their goings out and their comings in, and may He send His holy angel to accompany them, and to inform and preserve them for their own good and for the benefit of Christ's Holy Church!"

Thus ends this interesting article, with which English Churchmen have every reason to be satisfied. It may be worth mentioning that the phraseology of the last sentence is taken from a beautiful prayer contained in the Russian service books in the office used for one who is starting upon a journey.

The article itself was sent from London on Monday, 24 March (5 April), the day before we started, and appeared in the *Tzerkovnyja Viédomosti* on the following Saturday, the very morning on which we arrived in St. Petersburg. It was next day reprinted in full in the *Moscow Gazette*, which is the most important daily paper of Moscow, and one of the most widely circulated journals of the Russian Empire, while during the following week extracts from it, generally accompanied by sympathetic leading articles, appeared in almost every secular and ecclesiastical newspaper in Russia, not only in the two capitals, but also in the provinces. It would take too long to quote from all of them, but as a specimen I shall conclude with the leader which appeared on Tuesday, 1 April (13), in the *Novoe Vremja*, the principal daily paper of St. Petersburg :—

"The Most Reverend Dr. William Maclagan, Archbishop of York, who, together with the Primate of the Anglican Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is the author of a fresh step towards bringing their Church and the Orthodox Church together, has arrived in St. Petersburg. In another column we quote from the *Moscow Gazette* some extracts from a long article written by the Archpriest Smirnoff, in which he describes the career and character of this distinguished English prelate who has come to our country in order to acquaint himself with the rites of our religion, and with the leading representatives of the Russian Church. He is accompanied by our old friend, Mr. Birkbeck, who has for so long advocated the drawing together of Russia and England. It is hardly necessary to say that we in Russia shall welcome them both with all our hearts.

"The union of the Christian Churches is one of those blessed ideas which can never be extinguished in the general conscience of mankind, however great may be the gulf that severs the religious, political, social, economical, or general conditions of life in the various civilised countries of the world. A special gravitation has always expressed itself amongst ourselves in the direction of drawing nearer to the Anglican, American, and Old Catholic Churches, and this all the more

inasmuch as they constitute in themselves a protest against those pretensions of the Papacy and of Roman Catholicism to which Orthodoxy likewise has certainly no intention ever to submit. Indeed, the interchange of ideas about an approximation between the Eastern Church and the three Churches we have just mentioned has continued without interruption during the whole of the quarter of a century which has elapsed since that proclamation of the dogma of the Pope's infallibility which finally cut Roman Catholicism off from the traditions of primitive Christianity. The proclamation of this dogma not only summoned the Old Catholic communities into existence. but gave a powerful impulse in England and in North America to the manifestation of sympathy towards and interest in the Orthodox Church. Moreover, the present movement in the Anglican Church in favour of closer relations with us has likewise been called forth by the Papacy, that is to say, by Leo XIII's Bull declaring the nullity of Anglican ordinations. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York have sent their reply to this condemnation to the Russian Church, where, it is quite unnecessary to say, these new pretensions of the Papacy are already estimated at their real worth.

"There is no need to repeat again how heartily the Archbishop of York and his companion will be welcomed amongst us, nor that, both here in St. Petersburg, and when they go on to Moscow, every possible facility will be afforded to them in order that they may acquaint themselves with our Church and her rites."

II.—St. Petersburg.

Little need be said with regard to the Archbishop's journey from Berlin to St. Petersburg. We started from Berlin on Thursday, 8 April, by the night express, and arrived at the Russian frontier on the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon. The authorities there had been apprised of our coming, and as the train drew up at Wirballen we found the genial station-master, Constantine de Christianovich, whose kindness and courtesy have long been proverbial amongst English travellers

to Russia, waiting for us on the platform. He immediately took charge of our passports and luggage-tickets, so that we should have no further trouble with them or with any of the usual formalities which travellers undergo at all frontiers, and conducted us to a private room, where we found an excellent dinner prepared for us, and where we remained until it was time to take our places in the sleeping-car in the two large compartments which had been reserved for us in the St. Petersburg train. The next morning we found ourselves almost back into winter. Thick snow was still lying in the forests on each side of the line, and, although the sun was shining brightly, it was evident that we had done well in conforming to the golden rule in Russia of not leaving our furs behind so long as the ice remains unbroken on the Neva. We were met at the station at St. Petersburg by the English chaplain, the Rev. A. E. Watson, and by the Rev. A. Riddle, chaplain of the English hospital at Cronstadt, and conducted by them to the comfortable quarters in the Hôtel d'Europe which the former had secured for us.

During the six days that we were at St. Petersburg the Archbishop attended three great services in the Orthodox Russian Churches, as well as two in the English Church. Before we come to describe them, it will be necessary to remind our readers of the difference between the Russian and the Western Calendars. The Saturday on which we arrived was no longer 10 April but 29 March, and moreover as Easter fell this year a week later in the East than in the West, it was the eve, not of Palm Sunday, as with us, but of the Fifth Sunday in Lent,[1] known in the East as the Sunday of St. Mary of Egypt, and corresponding to our Passion Sunday. I may also mention

[1] The technical Eastern phrase for this Saturday is "Saturday of the Fifth Week of the Great Fast," but I avoid using it for fear of confusion. It must be remembered that Lent in the East begins on the seventh Monday (not Wednesday) before Easter, and that, therefore, although the Sundays in Lent correspond exactly with ours, the Fifth Week in Lent is the week *before*, and not the week *after*, the Fifth Sunday in Lent. There are therefore six whole weeks in Lent, besides Holy Week, which is called Passion Week, and although, of course, a strict Fast, is not included in the Great Forty Days.

that in Russia not only the English Church, but all the Christian creeds conform to Old Style; even the Latins have found it necessary in this, as in several other matters, to follow the example of Mohamet and go to the mountain. For the Orthodox mountain is quite immovable; while to keep all the great Church festivals at different seasons from the rest of Russia would be attended with too much inconvenience on account of the holidays connected with them.

On the day on which we arrived the Archbishop was naturally too much fatigued with his journey to attend the whole of the long "All-night" service, as the combined Vespers and Matins which takes place on Saturday evenings and on the eves of great festivals is termed. We therefore confined ourselves to attending the first part of this service in the Kazan Cathedral, standing with the rest of the congregation in the nave, and remaining from the beginning of Vespers up to the end of the Little Entrance. There are few churches and few services more calculated to make an impression upon a stranger. The building is almost unexampled in richness and solemn splendour amongst modern churches. Not to mention its other beauties, the magnificent iconostasis contains the copy of the famous Madonna of Kazan, so intimately connected in Russian history with the final triumph of Russia in the sixteenth century over her previous Mohammedan Tartar oppressors, with the delivery of the empire and Church from the Poles in the seventeenth century, and the overthrow of Napoleon in 1812; while its "Royal doors," made out of the many hundredweight of silver which was looted from the Moscow churches by Napoleon's army—"the Gauls and the twelve nations which accompanied them," as it is termed in Russia—but was recaptured from them during their disastrous retreat, are in themselves worth a journey to St. Petersburg. Moreover the beautiful singing and the wonderful devotion of the crowds of worshippers of every class of society, from officers and State officials in their gorgeous uniforms to the humblest peasants in their sheepskin touloups, with which it is always filled, render it one of the most attractive and representative churches

in the modern capital of Russia. We remained there for the psalm, "Praise the Lord, O my soul," sung to its plaintive Greek melody, with which Vespers always begins, for the Great Ectene, the psalms for the day, the *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα* with its Troparia, and for the Little Entrance; and left the church after hearing the beautiful Vesper hymn, "Hail, gladdening Light," faultlessly sung to the usual Russian melody, and joined in by a large number of the congregation. A better initiation to the beautiful services of the Orthodox Church could hardly be imagined.

The next morning being Sunday, the Archbishop celebrated the Holy Communion in the English church at 8.30, and, after breakfasting with Mr. Watson, we proceeded to St. Isaac's Cathedral, the largest and most solemn of all the St. Petersburg churches, where Bishop John of Narva, one of the suffragan Bishops of St. Petersburg and Rector of the Ecclesiastical Academy, was, together with eight of the priests of the cathedral, celebrating the Liturgy of St. Basil before the usual crowded congregation. We arrived just in time for the Little Entrance, and from the place reserved for the Archbishop in the choir on the north side of the Royal doors were able to see this imposing episode in the service, in which the Bishop, escorted by the priests and deacons in their glorious cloth-of-gold vestments, and preceded by the Archdeacon carrying the book of the gospels, makes his solemn entry from the raised *ambo* or daïs in the middle of the nave through the Royal doors, the clergy and choir alternately singing, "O come let us worship and fall down before Christ: O Son of God, Who didst rise again from the dead, save us who sing unto Thee: Alleluia". The Trisagion, and the Epistle and Gospel followed: the latter (Luke vii. 37-50, about the woman that was a sinner in the house of Simon the Pharisee) sung by the principal deacon of the cathedral with a voice which filled the whole of the vast building. The cherubic hymn at the Great Entrance was sung to the Slavonic melody which is always used when the Liturgy of St. Basil is being celebrated; although those portions of the service which are sung by the choir differ in no respect as far

as the words are concerned from those used at the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the prayers meanwhile said at the altar by the officiating priests are much longer, and accordingly the choral parts of the service are set to much longer and more elaborate melodies. After the Great Entrance, the Archbishop passed behind the screen into the sanctuary to a place specially prepared for him so that he might witness the consecration of the Holy Eucharist by the Bishop and the eight co-celebrating priests. Nothing in the world is more striking than the Liturgy in the Eastern Church when celebrated by a large number of priests all standing round the altar, and all reading the service together, and the extremely solemn yet perfectly simple and natural ceremonial with which it is accompanied. During the Communion of the clergy the Royal doors were, as usual, closed, and a sermon was preached out in the nave of the cathedral, of which we, of course, could not hear a word from within. Immediately after the Communion, the Bishop of Narva came to us with all the clergy of the cathedral, and after greeting me asked to be presented to the Archbishop, and in a few well-chosen words, which I translated, told the Archbishop how glad he was to see him there and to welcome "those who come from a distant country to show the world what the bond of love which comes from being united in the fellowship of Christ's religion may do to bring the Churches of the two countries nearer to one another". As soon as the sermon was ended the doors were thrown open, and one adult and two or three infants were communicated, after which the Liturgy concluded in the usual manner. In the evening the Archbishop attended evensong at the English church, and preached to an enormous congregation, including many Russians.

The greater part of Monday was spent in receiving or returning calls, and requires no description. I must not, however, omit to mention our visit to the Imperial Library, during which we were allowed to examine its greatest treasure, the famous *Codex Sinaiticus*. It is impossible to turn over these venerable pages, which were possibly in existence at the time

of the meeting of the Fathers of Nicæa, and certainly before the close of the fourth century, without emotion.

On the morning of Tuesday the Archbishop paid a visit to the Metropolitan Joannicius of Kieff, the second prelate of the Russian Church. The interview lasted for more than an hour, and was of an extremely friendly and interesting description. After an early luncheon we started by train for Tzarskoe Selo for our audience with the Emperor. The two carriages which were at the station to meet us soon brought us to the Little Palace, where the Emperor and Empress were then residing. His Imperial Majesty received us in the most gracious manner, our audience with him lasting rather more than half an hour, after which we had the honour of being received by the Empress in her private apartments. We were then driven to the Great Palace and shown over the beautiful State rooms built by Catherine II, including the famous Amber Hall, the walls of which are inlaid with the amber sent to the great Empress by the King of Prussia, and the private compartments of Alexander I and Alexander II who often resided there. On our return to St. Petersburg we visited the Court chaplain, the Protopresbyter Janysheff, who is well known to many of our theologians, who have met him either at the Old Catholic congresses or during his visit to England three years ago. In the evening we dined at Mr. John Hubbard's, who had invited a large number of the English residents to meet the Archbishop.

On Wednesday we started early in the morning to the great Lavra, or Monastery of St. Alexander Nevski, which lies at the extreme end of the Nevski Prospect, nearly three miles from where the latter starts from the Admiralty. We arrived at the Lavra at about ten o'clock, and were immediately conducted to the great church, where Bishop Nazari, one of the Suffragans of the Diocese of St. Petersburg, was celebrating the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, which is celebrated on all Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, and on the first three days of Holy Week, but not, as in the West, on Good Friday. The service had already been going on for nearly an hour, but the greater part

of what had already been sung consisted of the Vespers of the afternoon, which is always in Lent combined with the Liturgy of the day, and we arrived in time for the Little Entrance, which is a combination of the Little Entrance of Vespers and the Liturgy; the ceremonial, including the solemn carrying of the Gospels, being that of the Liturgy, while the "Hail, gladdening Light," is sung from the Vespers. After the Little Entrance the Archbishop was conducted into the sanctuary, where a seat had been specially provided for him on the south side of the altar, so that with the help of the Greek text of the Liturgy he could follow this singularly beautiful service without difficulty. Immediately after the Communion, the officiating Bishop approached the Archbishop, and after welcoming him in terms which if possible were warmer than those of the Bishop of Narva on the previous Sunday, and expressing his desire for Christian unity in the spirit of peace and love, he greeted him in the manner usual amongst Bishops in the East, that is to say, kissing each other's hands clasped together, with the words "Christ is in the midst of us," and then three times on the cheek; after which the Prior of the Lavra, the Archimandrite Arsenius, welcomed him at this his first visit, and the *antidoron* and the *teplota*, or blessed warm wine and water, was solemnly brought to us to partake of.

As soon as the service was over, we went across the Lavra courtyard to the Metropolitan's Palace, to inquire after the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg, who was ill in bed with a severe attack of influenza, and then proceeded to the Ecclesiastical Academy. The reception the Archbishop met with there is best described in the words of the *Tzerkovny Viéstnik* (*Church Messenger*), the official journal of the Academy:—

"On the arrival of our guests they were received by the Right Reverend Rector, Bishop John, of Narva, who had already made the acquaintance of the English Archbishop at St. Isaac's Cathedral on the previous Sunday at the Liturgy, by the Inspector of the Academy, Professor N. V. Pokroffski [a well-known writer on ancient Christian art, who is an honorary Fellow of the London Society of Antiquaries], and by

Professor A. P. Lopukhin [who has translated many English books, including several of Dean Farrar's works, into Russian]. The students, who were all drawn up on each side of the great entrance hall, greeted the English Archbishop with a loud *Is polla eti, despota.*[1] Upon this the Archbishop, in a speech which Professor Lopukhin translated, expressed his pleasure at seeing so many young men devoting themselves to preparation for the service of the Church, which was the highest service possible in this world, and his hearty desire that they should succeed more and more in this their excellent undertaking. Professor Pokroffski, in reply, said a few words of greeting and goodwill to our distinguished guest in respect to his praiseworthy journey in order to visit our Church, and acquaint himself with our theologians. Our guests were then shown the museum of ecclesiastical antiquities, the chapel, the assembly-hall, the lecture-halls, and the students' rooms, and the Archbishop expressed his gratification for the kindness shown to him, and his appreciation of all that he had seen. On his departure, the students again greeted him with *Is polla eti, despota*, many times repeated."

On the next day, Thursday, we spent the greater part of the morning with Archbishop Antonius, of Finland, one of the most able Bishops and theologians of the Russian Church, who, although he is still a comparatively young man, little over fifty years of age, has already been for many years a Bishop and is a member of the Holy Synod. Immediately after lunch we were received in audience by the Grand Duke Constantine Constantinovich, who is well known both for the interest which he takes in theological matters and also for his excellent translations of various portions of Shakespeare into Russian. We

[1] This, the ordinary Episcopal greeting, which constantly occurs in the Russian Pontifical, is one of several fragments of Greek which are retained untranslated in the Russian Episcopal services, whereas in the ordinary services every word, even Κύριε ἐλέησον, is translated into Russian. This is owing to the historical fact that nearly all the earlier Bishops of Russia were Greeks sent from Constantinople, who brought their choirs of singers with them; so that later on, when the Pontifical was translated into Russian, some passages with which the people were most familiar were retained in the original Greek.

afterwards visited the School of St. Vladimir, an institution founded and superintended by Madame Pobiedonostzeff, the wife of the well-known Russian statesman, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod. Here girls from the peasant class in the country villages are trained as schoolmistresses for the admirable Church schools, which, thanks to the efforts of M. Pobiedonostzeff, are now being started in every part of the Russian Empire, and of which no fewer than 11,000 have been opened since 1885. The Chief Procurator and Madame Pobiedonostzeff were themselves there to receive us, and to show us all over the excellently ordered building, with its chapel, its dining-hall, classrooms, dormitories, etc. It was particularly delightful to hear them sing the beautiful Slavonic Church melodies. Madame Pobiedonostzeff gave me leave to ask them for any portion of the Church services which I liked, and the readiness with which they performed almost any *troparion* or *stikheron*, in any of the eight ecclesiastical modes which I happened to suggest, was quite astonishing. Both on arriving and on leaving the Archbishop was received with the Episcopal greeting, *Is polla eti, despota*, sung by all the inmates of the school in the entrance hall.

The greater part of Friday was occupied in leave-taking before our departure to Moscow. But one more episode of the Archbishop's visit to St. Petersburg remains to be chronicled —namely, a visit paid him by the well-known priest Father John of Cronstadt, the reputation of whose saintly life and extraordinary influence for good in all parts of Russia has already reached this country, where his book, *My Life in Christ*, has lately been published in an excellent translation by M. Goulaeff, preceded by a letter of dedication to our gracious Sovereign.[1] On returning from a visit to the Hermitage picture-gallery we found a telegram saying that Father John would call in the course of the afternoon, and it was evident by the groups of hotel servants already waiting about in the passages

[1] Father John was a secular priest attached to a collegiate church at Cronstadt. *My Life in Christ* was published by Cassell's, and extracts from it by Mowbray's. He died on Dec. 20, 1908 (old style); Jan. 2, 1909 (new style). See p. 349, note.—[A.R.]

near our rooms that the news of his intended visit was already more or less public property. At last we heard a sort of rush in the passage, and one of the servants hurriedly looked into our sitting-room and told us that Father John had come. I went out into the passage and met the venerable priest, his face as usual calm and lit with smiles as he made his way with difficulty through the crowds of hotel servants who were pressing round him in order to kiss his hand or to receive his blessing. His influence in Russia extends far beyond the Orthodox population, and I noticed that not only several of the German Lutheran servants in the hotel were pressing round him, but that even two of the Mohammedan Tartar waiters from the restaurant were seeking and receiving his blessing. Father John stayed with us for more than an hour, and he and the Archbishop carried on an interesting and remarkable conversation on the subject of the religious condition of the poor in England and Russia respectively, and more especially in the great towns, where each of them has had such a wide experience. His departure was attended in the passage by a similar demonstration to that which had taken place on his arrival, and it was with great difficulty that he made his way to the lift, only to meet with a still denser crowd in the street as he made his way from the hotel to his carriage.

In the evening we started for Moscow by the night express in two compartments specially reserved for us. A large crowd both of Englishman and of Russians were assembled on the platform, amongst others an Archimandrite from the Lavra, whom the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg had sent to the train to bid the Archbishop farewell, and to express his regret that his illness had prevented him from receiving him during his short stay in St. Petersburg. As the train started from the platform every hat was raised, and a choir of Russians sang *Is polla eti, despota*, as the Archbishop gave them his final blessing.

In this description of the Archbishop's visit to St. Petersburg I have spoken chiefly of the Church services which he attended and of his visits to ecclesiastical personages, and have

passed over such matters as the constant kindness and hospitality day by day of the English Ambassador and Lady O'Conor, the repeated calls interchanged between the Archbishop and the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, M. Pobiedonostzeff, and his assistant, M. Sabler, as well as the many visits paid to and by private individuals. All who know what Russian hospitality is will realise that if once I were to begin to describe all the kindness with which we met there would be no end to what would have to be written. It will also be understood that as the Archbishop's visit to Russia was of a private nature, and was recognised to be in no sense of the word of an official character, I have, of course, avoided repeating the conversations which took place during his interviews with the various ecclesiastical dignitaries, which were all the more interesting from the fact that they were understood to be quite unofficial, and could therefore be carried on with greater freedom than would otherwise have been possible.

CHAPTER X.

THE VISIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO RUSSIA (*continued*).

III.—Moscow.

THERE are few lines in the world where travelling is so comfortable as it is upon the magnificent railway of the Emperor Nicholas I, which unites the two capitals of the Russian Empire. Although the night express takes thirteen and a half hours, leaving St. Petersburg at nine in the evening and reaching Moscow at half-past ten the next morning, the train ran so smoothly, and its sleeping compartments were so spacious and well furnished, and the attendance was so good, that when we rose in time for breakfast in the palatial restaurant at Klin, which is the last stopping-place before Moscow, it was difficult to realise that we had spent the whole night on the move.

The weather, too, was just what it should be on this Saturday before Palm Sunday, the day upon which the Holy Eastern Church celebrates the resurrection of Lazarus from the dead. Although there was still a good deal of snow lying about in sheltered places, more especially in the forests, there was no doubt that spring had thoroughly set in; the sky was clear, and the atmosphere perceptibly warmer than at St. Petersburg, while the distant glitterings of the domes of the churches in the bright morning sun showed that the Archbishop was to receive his impressions of "the City of the first throne, white-walled golden-domed Moscow, our little mother, the heart of Russia," under the most favourable conditions.

On the platform we were met by Prince Shirinski-Shikhmatoff, Procurator of the Moscow Department of the Holy Synod, and by my old friend Father Triphon (Prince Turke-

stanoff), the brother-in-law of General Boutourline, who was formerly Military Attaché at the Russian Embassy in London, and has so many friends in England. Father Triphon is now a monk in priest's orders at the great Donskoi Monastery, where he has charge of an excellent school for the sons of the clergy, conducted on semi-monastic principles, somewhat analogous to those of our own older collegiate foundations. The Metropolitan of Moscow had placed him in attendance upon the Archbishop during his stay in Moscow, and nothing could have exceeded his kindness and care for us throughout our whole visit. From the platform we were conducted to the Imperial apartments in the station, where we were received by the Archimandrite Tobias, Abbot of the famous Chudoff Monastery in the Kremlin, who, in a graceful speech, welcomed the Archbishop in the name of his Eminence, the Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow, upon his arrival in the ancient capital of the Russian Empire. After a short delay, during which the railway officials were seeing after our luggage, we started to our hotel, the "Slavianski Bazar," in a comfortable carriage with a pair of splendid black horses, which the Metropolitan had most kindly placed at the service of the Archbishop during the whole of his stay in Moscow. The spring was not sufficiently advanced for the leaves to have come out on the trees, which are everywhere interspersed amongst the houses and numberless church towers and domes of the beautiful old city; but, with this exception, it was looking at its very best, and by the time that we arrived at the well-known point in the Miasnitzkaia Street, where the white walls of the old "Chinese city" came into sight, with the Kremlin beyond crowned with its chaplet of golden domes all blazing in the sun, we had already fairly surrendered ourselves, heart and mind, to the incomparable charm and beauty of this inner sanctuary of Russian religious and national life.

In the afternoon, after inscribing our names in the books of the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess Sergius at the palace of the Governor-General, we started off, accompanied by Father Triphon and Mr. Wybergh, the English chaplain, to pay our

respects to the Metropolitan Sergius of Moscow. His Eminence when in Moscow resides at the *Tzoitskoe Podvorie*, or Moscow cell of the great Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, about forty miles from Moscow, of which he is *ex officio* the Archimandrite or Abbot. In the following extract from a Moscow paper (*Moskovski Listok*), describing the Archbishop's robes on this occasion, English readers will recognise a valiant attempt to penetrate into the mysteries of the Convocation robes of our English episcopate, which, except for its strange omission of all reference to the white linen rochet certainly does its author great credit :—

"Just before four o'clock, the Archbishop of York, accompanied by Father Triphon and Mr. Birkbeck, arrived at the *Troitzkoe Podvorie*. The Archbishop was vested in his official robes, which consist of a *kaftan* of dark purple velvet [this, *pace* the velvet, was the cassock], over which comes a mantle with armholes (*nakidka*) falling down to the ground behind, and with the sleeves drawn back. This mantle is made of cloth, and is of a rich scarlet hue. In front above the *kaftan* he wears a broad *orarion* of black cloth, descending down to the ground [i.e. the scarf]. From a chain round his neck the Archbishop wore a pectoral cross of massive gold, while on his head he had a circular purple velvet cap. As he entered the Metropolitan's apartments he was preceded by a priest carrying the archiepiscopal staff, surmounted by a large four-armed cross of silver. The Metropolitan gave the Archbishop a hearty welcome in the outer reception-hall, and then led him into the drawing-room, where they remained in conversation for nearly an hour."

The Metropolitan Sergius was appointed in 1893 to the See of Moscow, which, although nominally the third see in Russia, yields little, if anything, in importance to the other two Metropolitical Sees of St. Petersburg and Kieff. Although advanced in years—when he was translated to Moscow from the important Diocese of Odessa he had already completed his seventy-fourth year—his intellectual powers show no sign of decay, and though age and the rigours of monastic ascetism

have unmistakably impressed their mark upon both his face and his figure, he is not only able to perform the almost interminable Church services which appertain to his office, but I may say that I have seen few, even amongst the Russian bishops, who celebrate the Divine office with more perfect dignity and grace. The peculiar charm of the Russian services consists in their combination of the most elaborate and gorgeous ceremonial with an utter absence of anything that can be regarded as theatrical or striving after effect. The most elaborate services require no drill or rehearsal beforehand, such as one often sees on the eve of a great function in the Churches of the West. All is natural and perfectly free from affectation. The Metropolitan Sergius is one of the most conspicuous examples I know of the pleasing results of such a training. Whether in the midst of the splendours of a pontifical function, or when addressing the congregation, or presiding at his hospitable table, or engaged in private conversation, there is always the same pleasing combination of natural dignity and unaffected simplicity. Belonging, as is well known in Russia, to the older school of Russian theologians, and deeply imbued with the traditions of the great Philaret of Moscow, of whom he was one of the most distinguished pupils, he makes no secret of his uncompromising attitude towards all Western confessions of faith, whether it be towards the great Latin Communion, or towards those bodies—at once her offspring and her rivals as he regards them—which separated from her in the sixteenth century. Under these circumstances his great theological learning, combined with his very considerable knowledge of the various confessions of the West and their respective weak points, render him somewhat formidable in conversations of a theological complexion, which, while he never attempts to force upon his guests, he is always ready to engage in, if they so desire. And yet I have never heard of anyone coming away from one of these discussions with any feeling of irritation or resentment. His words, even when one has least agreed with them, are always well worth remembering, and leave behind them a no less pleasant im-

pression than the gentle and kindly smile with which they are accompanied. However little such men may be fitted for taking the lead in that forward movement with regard to the general destinies of Christendom for which it seems that Divine Providence is preparing the Russian Church, it will indeed be an evil day for Russia when prelates of this school cease to exist.

In the evening we attended part of the "All Night" service at the Cathedral of the Saviour. This magnificent building, which was consecrated at the coronation of the late Emperor Alexander III, represents the thankoffering of the Russian nation for the delivery of their country and capital from the army of Napoleon, the Russian nation, as has somewhere been facetiously remarked by an English writer, celebrating their victories over the French by a church, while the more business-like British nation commemorates its victory over Napoleon by a memorial of a more practical character —namely, by a bridge across the Thames! The service began at six o'clock, but we did not arrive until nearly half-past eight, when Vespers were ended and Matins already nearly half-way through. The Metropolitan had most kindly asked me whereabouts the Archbishop would like to be placed, and in view of the fact that after the fatigues of our journey we should only attend a short part of the service, and also of the magnificent view of the church and the services which is to be obtained from there, I had selected the great west gallery in preference to a place in the choir or behind the iconostasis. Accordingly, on our arrival we found the Dean of the cathedral waiting on the steps outside the cathedral in his cassock and cloth of gold *epitrachelion*, and we were conducted up to the gallery, where we found a carpet spread, and an arm-chair with crimson damask cushions prepared for the Archbishop. The sight which met our eyes baffles description. All the chandeliers both in the nave and in the galleries round the church were lit. The "palms," which in Russia as in England consist of boughs of budding willow,[1] had just been

[1] The willow is largely used in the East for the branches on Palm Sunday, so much so that amongst the East Syrian (Nestorian) Christians the willow is

distributed, and every worshipper in the vast building, which is calculated to hold over 5000, and which was packed from end to end, had his branch with a lighted taper fastened in the middle of it. One of the Suffragan Bishops of Moscow was officiating, standing in the midst of the nave surrounded by his attendants, while the clergy of the cathedral were passing to and fro in the fulfilment of the rite. We stayed for rather more than an hour, and heard the magnificent Palm Sunday Canon of St. Cosmas faultlessly sung by the singers of the Chudoff Monastery, the second best choir of Moscow, and came away after the *Gloria in Excelsis*. To describe the liturgical features of the service would take too long; but the *troparion* for the day is so remarkable for the skill with which it sets forth the connection of the feast of the previous day with the day itself, as well as with the Resurrection which is of course commemorated on every Sunday of the year, that I cannot forbear from quoting it :—

"Thou didst raise Lazarus from the dead, O Christ our God, giving thereby an assurance before Thy Passion of the general Resurrection. And therefore we, like the children, bear aloft the symbols of victory, and cry aloud to Thee, the vanquisher of death: Hosanna in the highest, blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

On Palm Sunday morning, after celebrating the Holy Communion early in the English Church, the Archbishop attended the Liturgy in the Cathedral of the Saviour, where the Metropolitan himself was pontificating. The service was performed with a splendour and solemnity appropriate to the day, which in the East is reckoned as one of the twelve great feasts of the year, the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom being used during Lent only on this feast and on Lady-day. It may startle some of our readers to hear that the Metropolitan and all the priests, deacons, and others who officiated with him wore richly em-

actually called the "Hosanna Tree". What leads so many of our clergy to adopt the practice of buying dried palm leaves, and crosses made from these instead of our traditional, scented golden willow, I cannot understand. In France box is generally used; this is also scented.—[A.R.]

broidered *green* silk vestments. Whether this was done in allusion to the green palm branches, or whether it was a mere chance, I cannot say, though I don't remember having seen this set of vestments used on any of the previous great services that I have attended in this church. With very few exceptions there are no rules concerning liturgical colours in the Holy Eastern Church, beyond such regulations as may be drawn up for convenience' sake in particular churches or religious houses. The Liturgy lasted for about three hours. It was strange to think that while we in Russia were keeping the memory of the beginning of our Lord's Passion, at home in England the Church was already celebrating His Easter victory over the grave.

In the afternoon we were most graciously received by the Grand Duke Sergius, Governor-General of Moscow, and the Grand Duchess, both of whom welcomed the Archbishop to Moscow in the most cordial terms, while the Grand Duke, with his great knowledge of the ecclesiastical antiquities of Moscow, gave us many valuable hints with regard to seeing some of the more ancient and curious paintings in the Kremlin. In the evening the Archbishop preached in the English church to an immense congregation, including many Russians. One of the oldest English residents in Moscow afterwards assured me that he had never seen the church so full. The sermon was much noticed in the Russian Press, and several newspaper correspondents applied for a full copy of it, in order to print it *in extenso*, but as the sermon had been delivered *extempore* it was unfortunately impossible to grant this request.

During the first three days of Holy Week the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts is celebrated daily. According to a very ancient custom, the Liturgy in the Cathedral of the Assumption, the principal church of Moscow, and indeed of the Russian Empire, is every day said an hour later during Holy Week. Thus on Monday it is at eight o'clock, on Tuesday at nine, and so on until the Great Saturday, when it commences at midday, Good Friday not being counted inasmuch as there is no Liturgy of any kind on that day. The ser-

vices are abnormally long on these days, and more especially the "Hours" of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, which immediately precede the Vespers with which the Liturgy throughout Lent is always combined. This is caused by the fact that the whole of the four Gospels are read through complete during Holy Week, and, while those portions which refer to the events of the Great Week are relegated to the Liturgy and the Matins of the respective days on which they took place, the rest of the Gospels are divided up into equal portions, one of which is read at each of the Hours. The Archbishop, therefore, contented himself during these days with attending either the English church or one of the ordinary parochial churches near the hotel *incognito*, for he was naturally anxious to husband his strength for the solemnities which were to come at the end of the week. The afternoons we spent visiting the principal national and ecclesiastical *Sehenswürdigkeiten* of the ancient capital; the three great cathedrals in the Kremlin; the Palace, with its numerous halls and chapels; the *Granovitaia Palata*, or hall where the Emperor dines in state after his coronation; the Armorial Hall, with its treasures, including the ancient crowns and thrones of the Tzars, and the gorgeous "porphyries" or cloth of gold robes lined with ermine and embroidered with eagles which were worn by the Emperor and the two Empresses last year at the coronation; the famous bell-tower of Ivan Veliki, the Patriarchal Treasury, the Chudoff Monastery, etc. At all of these we found everything prepared for the Archbishop's visit, and some one to explain all that there was to be seen. I shall not linger over these, as most people will have formed some idea of their interest and splendour from the accounts given at the time of the coronation last year.

I must not, however, omit to mention our visit on the Tuesday afternoon to the famous Donskoi Monastery, built on the southern outskirts of Moscow in commemoration of a victory gained on the spot in the year 1591 by the Tzar Theodore, the son of Ivan the Terrible, and so called because in obedience to a vision the Tzar had had the picture of the

Virgin and Child, which had accompanied Demetrius of the Don on his victorious campaign against the Tartars in the fourteenth century, brought on to the field of battle, so that it might once more encourage the defenders of the faith of the Incarnate God against the followers of the False Prophet. The anniversary of this glorious victory is still observed every year in the month of August by a solemn procession of the principal clergy of Moscow, in which this same picture is carried from the Cathedral of the Annunciation to the monastery and back, and the enthusiasm and devotion with which the day is observed gives an excellent illustration of that intimate connection between the religious and national life of the people upon which all the greatness and strength of the Russian Empire depends. The monastery is now one of the seven which are called "stavropigial"—that is to say, it is under the immediate jurisdiction, not of the Metropolitan of Moscow, but of the Holy Synod itself. The Archimandrite Gury is a Bishop and is himself a member of the Holy Synod. As our carriage emerged through the gateway of the lofty crenellated walls which have more than once served the monastery in good stead in defending it against Mohammedan Tartars and Polish Papists, we were met by the Prior and by Father Triphon, who conducted us to the Great Church, where Bishop Gury, surrounded by the greater number of the community, awaited the Archbishop's arrival, who afterwards conducted us all over the monastic buildings. He expressed a great desire to possess a copy of the Archbishop's Encyclical, which had not been sent to him along with the other members of the Holy Synod, as he has been but recently appointed, and his name had not been on the list used for the purpose in London. We found that he knew a little English, but he told me that he had forgotten most of it, and would therefore prefer the Latin text, which we accordingly sent him. After showing us the various churches of the monastery he escorted the Archbishop to his carriage, and we started for the Sparrow Hills, in order to obtain the famous view of Moscow in the light of the setting sun. But owing to the melting of the

snow the road turned out to be impracticable, so this part of the programme had to be abandoned. The evening we spent at the Metropolitan's, where we passed nearly two hours in interesting and agreeable conversations upon various ecclesiastical topics.

IV.—Holy Week and Easter in Moscow.

On Maundy Thursday the Archbishop was present for the first time at Divine service in the principal cathedral of Moscow, which is dedicated to the Assumption, or rather, as it is styled in the East, the Falling Asleep of the Holy Virgin. Dean Stanley's interesting and sympathetic account of the beauties of this building, of its surpassing historical interest, and of its significance to the Russian people from a religious and national point of view, is too well known to require any further account of it here, more especially as the main features of the building are fairly familiar to English readers from last year's illustrations of the coronation of the Emperor which took place within its walls.

The solemn celebration of the Liturgy of St. Basil, in which the institution of the Holy Eucharist is commemorated, commenced at eleven o'clock, but as the Vespers with which the Liturgy is combined are unusually long on that day, we did not arrive until nearly one. We found a place prepared for the Archbishop against the south-eastern of the four great pillars which support the roof of the nave: the Metropolitan, surrounded by his deacons and sub-deacons, standing on the *ambo*, or raised daïs, in the midst of these four pillars, and the clergy lining the path on each side from the *ambo* to the Royal Doors. They were all of them in cloth of silver vestments. After the Little Entrance, when the Metropolitan and the other ecclesiastics followed the book of the Gospels into the Sanctuary, the Archbishop passed behind the iconostasis, and occupied another seat prepared for him on the south side of the altar. The Metropolitan was celebrating, and eight abbots and priests were co-celebrating with him. Besides these, there were a considerable number of priests in

their vestments, who took part in the Entrances and other parts of the ceremonial. The Liturgy, although there was no consecration of the Chrism this year,[1] was of the utmost solemnity. Its chief distinguishing feature on this day is the beautiful hymn which is substituted for the Cherubic hymn at the Great Entrance, and which in the Russian Church has also been appointed to be used by private individuals before receiving the Holy Communion :—

" Accept me this day, O Son of God, as a partaker of Thy mystic Supper; for I will not reveal Thy mystery to Thine enemies, or give Thee a kiss, as did Judas; but like the thief I will confess Thee; remember me, O Lord, in Thy kingdom."

At the end of the Liturgy, but before giving the Blessing, the Archbishop of York was conducted back to his seat in the nave in order to witness the ceremony of the Maundy Thursday washing of the feet. This rite, which in Russia is performed with far more solemnity than it is in the West (and, moreover, with much greater fidelity to the event which it commemorates, inasmuch as it is not thirteen beggars, but twelve of the highest in rank of his clergy, whose feet the Metropolitan washes), is one of the most beautiful and touching ceremonies of Holy Week. The Metropolitan, in his full vestments, but unsupported by his usual attendants on either side, and without his staff, came forth from the Royal Doors, preceded by his Archdeacon carrying the Holy Gospels and two other deacons with a silver basin and jug, to a low platform erected at the west end of the church, and seated himself at the extreme west, facing east, on a chair (not the usual Episcopal seat) at the end of a long table, the clergy

[1] The Chrism, which is used for the Sacrament of Confirmation, administered by the priest immediately after baptism, is consecrated for the whole of the Russian Empire in alternate years at Moscow and Kieff. It is often necessary to remind Western readers that the oil of the Catechumens and the oil for anointing the sick, although both are used in the East, are not consecrated by the Bishop, but are blessed by the priest when required. The latter is always blessed at the time of the actual administration of the Sacrament of Unction of the Sick. Hence its Eastern name, " the Prayer-oil ".

within the sanctuary meanwhile reciting Psalm li. The basin and jug were placed on the table and covered with a linen apron and long towel, and the Gospels were placed on a lectern to the east of the platform rather on the south side. Then twelve of the Moscow clergy, six Archimandrites (Abbots), and six secular priests, issued forth from the Royal Doors, and took their places on chairs on each side of the table ; the choir meanwhile singing nine exquisite *troparia* and *stichera*, setting forth the significance of the event which was about to be commemorated, and the lessons to be learnt from it. A deacon then recited the Litany, known as the Great Ektene, but with two special clauses added to it containing prayers that it might please the Lord "to bless and hallow this washing with the power and working and descent of the Holy Spirit," and that it might be "for the washing away of the defilement of our sins". Then, after two prayers read by the Metropolitan, his Archdeacon began in a loud but deep voice slowly to read the Gospel, John xiii. 3-17. At the words "He riseth from supper," which the deacon repeated three times, the Metropolitan rose and, unassisted, divested himself of all his Episcopal robes—of his mitre, *panagia* and cross, *omophorion* and *saccos*, and remained in only the *epitrachelion* and other sacerdotal vestments, except that he himself replaced the mitre (or crown) on his head—a beautiful piece of symbolism, signifying that the Lord, in taking upon Himself the form of a servant, had not thereby divested Himself of His eternal sovereignty, but did all of His own free will. During this the deacon slowly repeated, "and laid aside his garments," as often as was necessary, and all the subsequent actions were accompanied in the same way. The Metropolitan then fastened the apron from his waist, and girded himself with the towel, bringing the end of it from under his left arm across his back and over the right shoulder, and proceeded to throw water three times in the form of a cross into the basin; and then leaving his place went to the nearest of the priests on his left, preceded by two deacons carrying the jug and basin, and kneeling down poured water

three times over his feet, and washed them, and then wiped them with the towel, kissing his hand. This was repeated to each of the priests in order, until he came to the last of the Archimandrites, who, as highest in rank, was sitting on the right of the Metropolitan chair, the deacon at the same time reading, "Then cometh he to Simon Peter; and he said;" whereupon the Archimandrite rose and said, "Lord, dost Thou wash my feet?" and the Metropolitan pronounced our Lord's reply; and so it continued, the Archimandrite taking all St. Peter's words, the Metropolitan those of the Saviour, and the Archdeacon the narrative, until the words, "Lord, not my feet only but my hands and my head," when, after first stretching out his hands, and then pointing to his head, the Archimandrite sat down, and after the Metropolitan had said the Saviour's reply, his feet were washed like the rest. While the deacon read the eleventh verse, the Metropolitan returned to his place at the head of the table, the choir singing "Glory to Thee, O Lord, glory to Thee," as at the end of the Gospel.

The rest followed immediately (in the shape of a second Gospel, with its regular beginning: "Wisdom, attend," etc.), the same Archdeacon continuing to read. At the words, "and had taken His garments" the Metropolitan robed himself, without assistance, in his full robes, and at the words "and was set down again," resumed his seat. Then followed what was really the climax of the whole service. As the deacon read the words "He said unto them," he descended from the pulpit, and carried the book of the Gospels up on to the platform to the Metropolitan, who, sitting in his chair in full vestments, took the sacred volume, and remaining seated and crowned with his mitre, read, in the most solemn and beautiful voice, the rest of the Gospel from "Know ye what I have done unto you," down to "if ye know these things happy are ye if ye do them," the twelve priests all rising and removing the coverings from their heads; and then, standing up and removing his mitre, read the following prayer:—

"O Lord our God, Who of the multitude of Thy mercies didst empty Thyself, and didst take upon Thee the form of a

servant, and at the time of Thy saving, and life-giving, and willing Passion wast pleased to sup with Thy holy disciples and Apostles: and afterwards, girding Thyself with a towel, and washing the feet of Thy disciples, didst give unto them a pattern of humility and love towards one another, and didst say, As I have done unto you, so do ye unto one another: do Thou Thyself, O Lord, come now into the midst of us Thine unworthy servants who follow Thine example; cleanse every defilement and impurity of our souls, that having washed away the dust that cleaveth unto us from our sins, and having wiped one another with the towel of love, we may be enabled to please Thee all the days of our life, and find grace in Thy sight. For it is Thou that blessest and sanctifiest all things, O Christ our God, and to Thee we give glory, with Thy Father, Who is without beginning, and Thine all-holy and blessed and life-giving Spirit, now and ever, world without end. Amen."

Thus ended this beautiful and striking service, which I have described at length as giving a specimen of one of those rites which have done and still do so much to bind the Russian people to the verities of the Christian religion. For no one who saw the faces, many of them bathed in tears, of that crowd of peasant worshippers in the aisles, some of whom had walked from the furthest parts of the empire in order to keep Passiontide and Easter in this central sanctuary of Russian religious and national life, could for a moment doubt of the effect which these solemn yet perfectly simple and intelligible rites exercise upon them. As soon as it was over the Metropolitan returned to the altar, and, finishing the prayers of the Liturgy, came out and gave the Blessing, and then immediately came down into the nave, and before the whole congregation greeted and embraced our Archbishop. Thus ended the first service which we attended in the principal church of the Russian Empire, which to the Russians is what Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, and Canterbury Cathedral all combined in one would be to us!

On Good Friday there is no Liturgy of any kind in the

Eastern Church—the Matins, containing twelve long Gospels, in which the whole history of the Passion is read, are said in the parish churches the evening before, instead of in the middle of the night (as in the monasteries and the Cathedral of the Assumption), in order that the people may attend. The principal morning service consists of the Great Hours—that is to say, a special form of Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones drawn up in the fifth century by the great St. Cyril of Alexandria—containing twelve Psalms, four Old Testament prophecies, four Epistles, and four Gospels, which between them include all our Good Friday Psalms and Scripture lessons except one, and a good deal besides. The Archbishop attended Matins in the English Church, and Vespers in the Cathedral of the Saviour, when the Descent from the Cross and Joseph of Arimathea's begging for the body of our Lord is commemorated, and a representation of the dead Christ, embroidered generally on a bit of rich red velvet, is placed in the middle of the church. In the evening we went, at the invitation of Count Olsufieff, to the Matins of Saturday in the "Elizabeth Institute," a school containing 250 girls of good family. At this service the burial of our Lord is commemorated by the carrying of the embroidered figure in procession, the choir singing the "Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us," and all the school following, dressed in white, and each carrying a burning taper with a bunch of roses fastened round it. At the end of the service the officiating priest came and greeted the Archbishop, and the choir sang *Is polla eti, despota,* and he gave them his blessing. I afterwards attended the same service, only sung at full length, in the Cathedral of the Assumption at one o'clock in the morning. The procession, which started into the Kremlin yard round the cathedral at about four o'clock, just before it was beginning to get light, immediately after the *Gloria in excelsis*, is one of the most striking sights imaginable. I walked with the last man in the choir, two deacons with censers following immediately behind me in front of the embroidered figure of our Lord, which was carried on the heads of a Bishop and six

priests, with deacons carrying lighted candles on each side, and all the clergy following in black and silver vestments. Crowds of worshippers, peasants, officers in uniform, and pilgrims from all parts of the empire, with lighted tapers in their hands, either followed the procession or stood in the Kremlin yard as we passed through; while all the time the great bells were roaring from the belfry above us. It is one of the most impressive of the Holy Week ceremonies.

On Saturday the beautiful Easter Eve Liturgy of St. Basil began in the cathedral at twelve o'clock; but, as we were reserving our energies for the first service of Easter at midnight, we only arrived for the last hour of it. The service is distinguished by several references to the baptisms which anciently took place on that day, and by the well-known hymn, "Let all earthly flesh keep silence," which is sung at the Great Entrance. In the evening we started for the cathedral at about half-past eleven. All Moscow seemed to be pouring into the Kremlin, and the yard round the cathedral was filled with a dense but silent crowd. Inside the cathedral, which was dimly lit by a few candles and lamps burning before the icons, a deacon, according to custom, was reading the Acts of the Apostles, which he finished about five minutes before midnight. A place was reserved in the nave, as usual, for the Archbishop, and the whole of the centre was filled with the Grand Duke's suite and the Moscow nobility in their brilliant uniforms. We passed out into the yard to hear twelve o'clock strike, and the great bell, Ivan Veliki, weighing nearly 120 tons, began to ring. The Grand Duke Serge drove up, and we followed him back into the cathedral, whither the Metropolitan arrived a minute or two later. The church was still almost dark, and the choir was singing once more part of the Canon of Easter Eve, ending with the pathetic troparion, "Weep not for Me, O My Mother, beholding Me in the grave, Whom thou, a Virgin, didst bear: for I shall arise, and, as God, shall ever raise in glory those that magnify thee in faith and love". And then the Royal Doors in the screen opened, and the Metropolitan and all his clergy issued forth in red and gold vest-

ments to announce the Resurrection—" Christ is risen from the dead, by His death having trodden down death, and bestowing life on those within the graves ". The whole cathedral, almost before one could realise that Easter had come, was a blaze of light from thousands of candles in the chandeliers and the tapers held by the people, and we all started in procession into the Kremlin yard, the ecclesiastics first, and then the Grand Duke, and next him the Archbishop, followed by all of us who had been standing in the nave in uniform. Outside the scene was indescribable. The blaze of light from the tapers held by the crowd and the illuminations, the people all embracing one another with the Easter greeting of " Christ is risen," answered by, " He is risen indeed," the roaring of the bells overhead, answered by the 1600 bells from the illuminated belfries of all the churches of Moscow, the guns bellowing from the slopes of the Kremlin over the river, and the processions in their gorgeous cloth of gold vestments and with crosses, icons, and banners, pouring forth amidst clouds of incense from all the other churches in the Kremlin, and slowly wending their way through the crowd, all combined to produce an effect which none who have witnessed it can ever forget. After going round the cathedral, the clergy and choir all stopped in the porch and repeatedly sang the Easter troparion, with verses from the Psalm, " Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered," interspersed, and then we returned into the church, and St. John Damascene's great canon, " The Day of Resurrection, earth tell it out abroad," was sung to the beautiful melody which all who have been in Russia in Eastertide know so well, accompanied by the censing of the people and the icons of the saints by every priest, one by one, in the building, in token that the Church on earth, unites with the Church triumphant in common joy at the victory of the Church's Divine Head over sin and death. The first part of the service was brought to a close by the Easter salutation, the Metropolitan coming out from the screen, and standing in the nave with the cross in his hand, while first the Grand Duke and then all of us in our turn filed past, kissing the

cross and embracing him three times, as he said "Christ is risen," and we replied "He is risen indeed".

On the morning of Easter Day the Archbishop celebrated the Holy Communion at eight o'clock, and preached at the midday service in the English church. Vespers we attended in the Cathedral of the Assumption. A pleasing feature of the day was the meeting, after the solemn Liturgy in the cathedral, in the Chudoff Monastery of the Metropolitan and some 200 of the principal clergy of Moscow in order to break the fast together. On the Monday we were invited to attend the Liturgy in the Grand Duke's private chapel, with its beautiful iconostasis covered with ancient Russian icons and its small but perfect choir of six men; after which we had the honour of lunching with their Imperial Highnesses. We ended the day by dining with the Metropolitan, who invited four Bishops and several others of the distinguished clergy of Moscow to meet the Archbishop and, amongst others, Father Clement, the learned and accomplished rector of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Seminary.

CHAPTER XI.

THE VISIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO RUSSIA (*continued*).

V.—The Trinity Lavra and our Return Journey.

On Easter Tuesday we started from Moscow for the great Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius. Everybody who knows anything of Russia has heard of this famous monastery, and the further one penetrates into the mystery of the religious and national life of the Russian people the more conscious does one become of the extraordinary influence which St. Sergius and his disciples have exercised in moulding the destinies of the Russian Empire.

We left Moscow a little after midday, accompanied by Father Triphon and Mr. Michael Sverbéeff. All along the railway we watched the pilgrims making their way on foot to this famous sanctuary: this may be seen at any time of the year, but it is specially noticeable in Easter week, as few or none of the pilgrims who come to Moscow from distant parts of the empire for Holy Week and Easter would dream of returning to their homes without visiting the shrine of St. Sergius. At the station of the Lavra we found a large crowd on the platform awaiting the arrival of the Archbishop. We passed into the Imperial rooms in the station, where the Bursar of the Lavra, Father Dositheus, was awaiting us, and who, after greeting the Archbishop in the name of the *Namjéstnik*, or Prior, conducted us to the carriages which had been sent from the Lavra to meet us. The beautiful old monastery, with its white walls, red towers, and green roofs, and its gold and blue domes, was looking at its very best in the bright spring sunshine. The bells were ringing, and all along our road the crowds of people respectfully greeted our Archbishop, removing their hats and

crossing themselves as they received his blessing. On arriving at the monastery hostel we found the suite of rooms which is specially reserved for the Prior's use prepared for us, together with an excellent lunch, which after our journey we much appreciated.

After a short rest we again started off in our carriages for the Lavra, and first went to pay our respects to the Prior, the Archimandrite Paul, an old friend of mine. He received us with his usual kindness and hospitality, and we were soon seated round his tea-table with several of the principal members of the community, including the Archimandrite Nicon, famous throughout Russia as the originator and editor of the "Trinity Leaflets," a series of religious tracts upon every conceivable subject, written in the simplest language for the use of the common people. He started this great undertaking eleven years ago in a very small way, the late Prior Leonidas having given him five roubles (about 11s.) in order to print a tract to distribute amongst the pilgrims who came to the Lavra. The success of this first attempt was such that the experiment was repeated, and now the results are seen in a great printing-press in the Lavra, from which more than eighty millions of these leaflets have been distributed in all parts of the empire, as well as some twenty million sacred pictures.

After about half an hour's conversation, we left the Prior's lodging, and made our way to the Moscow ecclesiastical academy, which, although it has its own administration, quite separate from that of the Lavra, is included within its walls, and accordingly differs from the other three ecclesiastical academies of the Russian Church in being surrounded, not by the distracting influences of a great city, but by the most sacred ecclesiastical and historical associations of the nation, combined with all the advantages of a quiet country life. The Rector, the Archimandrite Laurentius, was away for a few days, so the Archbishop was received in the speech-room by the inspector of the academy, the Archimandrite Arsenius, and by the sub-inspector, Father Innocentius, as well as all the professors and students. When the Archbishop reached the centre

of the room, the Archimandrite stepped forward and addressed him in a short Latin speech, of which the following is the translation :—

"Christ is risen! With this Easter greeting of peace and love which is common to all Christians, I welcome your Grace in the name of our academy. Your visit is all the more prized by us in that we recognise in it a confirmation of that sympathy by which likewise in former times your fellow-countrymen were guided who more than once have visited our academy, and have held friendly intercourse with its representatives upon various questions of common interest. May our Lord Jesus Christ be with thee, and may His grace assist thee!"

After the Archbishop had replied in a short Latin speech, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History, V. A. Sokoloff, addressed him in English as follows :—

"Allow me, your Grace, to add a few words to the greeting of his Reverence the Rector. It is with the greatest happiness and the fullest hope that we, the members of the teaching staff of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy, see the realisation of your Grace's kindly intention of visiting Russia and personally acquainting yourself with the religious life of our country. And we beseech the Lord God that your present journey may serve to promote the blessed cause of Christian union. The Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in, from this time forth and for evermore!"

To which one of the students, Nicholas Preobrazhenski, added the following, also in the English language :—

"My fellow-students of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Moscow have intrusted me with the pleasing task of respectfully welcoming your Grace, and of expressing our profound esteem for you as a distinguished representative of a nation which has given the world so many glorious scholars whose works we with full appreciation make use of in our theological studies, and more especially in the region of the investigation of Holy Scripture and ecclesiastical history."

At this point a richly bound copy of a former Rector, the

Archpriest Smirnoff's, *History of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy*, was presented to the Archbishop, with a suitable inscription from the professors and students of the academy inscribed on the first page in English. After the Archbishop had briefly thanked them for his kind reception, and expressed his good wishes for the success of their studies to the good of the Church, all the professors were presented to him. He was then taken all over the academy, including the beautiful chapel and the library, which, besides several extremely rare Greek and Hebrew manuscripts, contains an unusually rich collection of rare theological works.[1] On leaving the academy the students assembled in the hall and sang the Episcopal greeting, "*Is polla eti, despota*".

From the academy the Archbishop drove to the beautiful little Cathedral of the Trinity, erected in the early part of the fifteenth century, after the burning of the monastery by the Tartars, upon the spot where St. Sergius had first built his hermitage in the forest. This church, though extremely small in dimensions, is one of the most perfect specimens of Russian ecclesiastical art which exists, while, owing to the fact that none of the numerous invaders of Russia have ever effected an entry within the walls of the monastery since its foundation, its ornaments, consisting of untold wealth in gold and silver and precious stones, represent the offerings of five centuries of Russian devotion. It is at all times of the day filled with pilgrims, either taking part in its beautiful services, or else paying their devotions at the magnificent silver shrine where lie the remains of St. Sergius. The evening service was going on, and the Archbishop remained for nearly an hour, entranced with the sweetness of the singing, the solemnity of the ceremonial, and the devotion of the people.

We spent the rest of the afternoon visiting the *skeets*, or outlying monastic settlements in the forests of the neighbour-

[1] In a most appreciative review of a work written by one of the students of this academy some five years ago, Professor Harnack observed that this library contained certain German theological works of value for which he had sought in vain in the libraries of Germany.

hood. Deeply interesting as these are, I shall not here describe them, as an excellent account of them is to be found in Dean Stanley's *Holy Eastern Church*. Suffice it to say that the Archbishop was everywhere warmly welcomed, and in the ecclesiastical seminary of "Bethany" received a greeting in Latin from the Rector, the Archimandrite Parthenius, and a hearty ovation from the students. The next day we attended the Liturgy in the Cathedral of the Trinity, and saw all the sights of the Lavra, its treasury, churches, refectory, infirmary, etc. Our visit concluded with a banquet at the Prior's, to which all the principal members of the community were invited. After taking leave of the Prior we drove to the station, where we found a saloon carriage awaiting us in the train for Moscow. All the students of the academy were drawn up on the platform to bid the Archbishop farewell, and as we moved from the station they once more sang "*Is polla eti, despota*," and they as well as the rest of the crowd removed their hats in order to receive his blessing. We reached Moscow in time for a dinner given in his honour by the English consul, Mr. Medhurst, after which a reception was held in the library of the English chaplaincy, at which he bade farewell to the English community.

Thursday was employed chiefly in leave-taking. In the morning we were received by the Grand Duke Serge, who in the most gracious terms expressed to us the pleasure which the Archbishop's visit had afforded both to their Imperial Highnesses and to the citizens of Moscow. After lunching with Mr. Andrew Katkoff, the son of the famous editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, we paid several farewell calls; amongst others, one to Father Clement, the Rector of the Moscow Spiritual Seminary, where the Archbishop received another great ovation from the students. From there we drove to the palace of the Metropolitan Sergius. He received us with his usual kindness, and we remained conversing with him for more than an hour. When the time for parting came, he presented us each with a beautiful *facsimile* copy of St. Alexis of Moscow's New Testament, one of an edition of only two hun-

dred which the late Metropolitan Leontius had reproduced by photography from the original fourteenth-century manuscript in the saint's own handwriting preserved in the Chudoff Monastery, and therefore a book of very considerable value. I ventured to ask the Metropolitan if he would write our names and his own signature at the beginning of this his parting gift; but he refused, saying that he made it a rule never to write his name in a book which he presented. "I give it to you in token of our mutual love; so long as that love is preserved, you will remember me when you see my present, whether during my lifetime or after I am at rest; and, therefore, what would be the use to you of my signature? As for those who come after you, what should they wish to know of me? Let them value our great Moscow saint's translation of the Word of God for its own sake, and not for the sake of the signature of an old man whom they never knew!" He and the Archbishop parted with mutual requests for prayer on behalf of one another and of their respective flocks.

After our last farewells had been said to the Metropolitan, we went to the Foundling Hospital, where it had been arranged that the Archbishop should be present at the christening of two childen, in order that he might witness the Eastern mode of administering the sacraments of Baptism and Anointing-with-Chrism (i.e. Confirmation). We then returned to the hotel, and after completing our packing and dining we started for the station of the line which was to take us to Warsaw. Father Triphon accompanied us to the station, and, besides many of the English residents, a large crowd of Russians had assembled on the platform to bid the Archbishop farewell. As the train moved slowly out of the station every hat was removed, and many of those standing on the platform asked for and received his last blessing before he left the ancient capital of Russia.

The authorities had most kindly provided us with a sumptuously furnished saloon-car, with a sitting-room at one end, two bedrooms, a room for our servants, a place for our luggage, and two of the railway servants on board to attend to us the

whole way to Warsaw. We were told that we might retain it for as many days as we liked if we wished to stop on the way. We had been most kindly invited to stay at Dughino, the country estate of Prince Nicholas Mestchersky, in the Smolensk government; and I was particularly glad that the Archbishop should have the opportunity of staying in a large Russian country house, and at the same time of seeing what the services are like in a country church on a Sunday. The journey to Dughino takes ten hours, it being situated on a branch line about two hours from the main line to Warsaw. But thanks to the foresight and kindness of the railway officials, we were saved the change in the early morning, and slept peacefully in our beds while our saloon was shunted on to the branch line. At about eight o'clock the train was stopped between two stations, so as to enable us to alight at the nearest point on the line to our destination, where the carriages of Prince Mestchersky were awaiting us, our saloon going on to the next station to wait there for us until we required it again.

The house at Dughino was built by Catherine the Great's famous Minister, Count Panin, upon the estate which she bestowed upon him for his services in the suppression of the formidable insurrection of the Pretender Pugatcheff, and is one of the best specimens now existing of a country house of that period, containing, besides the usual spacious apartments, its winter gardens, theatre, riding-school, etc. It stands at the top of a steep slope of grass overhanging a river, with beautiful grounds laid out in the style of what is known in Russia as an "English garden"—that is to say, well-cared-for trees growing on grass, intermingled with shrubberies intersected by winding paths, and artificial lakes with islands connected with bridges; while, on the other side of the house, the grounds are arranged more in the Continental fashion, with several avenues of limes and straight paths through the fir-trees. The interior of the house is full of interesting family portraits, and relics of its founder and of his equally famous son; while at the top of the house there is a magnificent library, the nucleus of

which was provided by the Empress Catherine herself in the shape of a large collection of the writings of the French encyclopædists richly bound in red leather and stamped in gold with Imperial eagles. The house has come to the Mestchersky family through the present Princess, who is one of the two last descendants of the Counts Panin.

My object being to narrate the Archbishop's ecclesiastical experiences, I shall not describe our three days at Dughino further than to state that we spent them in the full enjoyment of Russian hospitality and kindness. On Sunday we attended the Liturgy in the church close to the house. The service, although representing the simplest form which is possible in the Orthodox Church, the priest being unassisted even by a deacon, was nevertheless beautifully rendered; the village choir stood below the steps of the iconostasis, being reinforced by three members of the Mestchersky family. Thanks to their training, it had acquired that proficiency in singing unaccompanied *pianissimo* passages without dropping the pitch which it is the despair of English choirmasters to reach, but which is quite common in Russia. Owing to an approaching wedding in the family, the greater number of Prince Mestchersky's family were assembled at Dughino, and accordingly this Sunday had been selected for the Easter Communion of all the Prince's grandchildren under seven years of age. The Communion of infants in the Eastern Church is always a touching sight, but it was more especially so on this occasion, when so many of the members of one family, some in their parents' arms, others led by their grandparents, were taken up to the parish priest, standing in his rich cloth of gold vestments in the Royal doors, to receive the Bread of Life and the Cup of Salvation, the choir meantime softly singing St. John Damascene's beautiful Easter hymns.

In the afternoon we bade farewell to our hosts at Dughino, and in our saloon carriage rejoined the Warsaw line at Vjazma. Having six hours to wait for the express from Moscow, we wandered into the town, which, although no longer a royal residence, as it was in former time, is still a place of some im-

portance, containing 30,000 inhabitants and some twenty-five churches. We made our way to the great convent of St. Arcadius, where the Abbess, surrounded by her community of 130 professed nuns and lay sisters, met the Archbishop in the convent yard and conducted him to the principal church, where, at her request, he gave his blessing to the community. By this time the news of the Archbishop's visit had spread all over the town, and when we went out the bells of the convent and of some of the neighbouring churches were ringing, and crowds of people were in the streets, some of them kneeling, others pressing round him to kiss his hands, or bringing their children to receive his blessing. The throng became so dense that it was only with the aid of the police that we could make our way through the streets, and after visiting another church, we had to take refuge in a carriage which one of the citizens kindly provided for us in order to regain the station in time for the dinner which was awaiting us. Just before the train started the *ispravnik* together with the other municipal authorities, in accordance with Russian custom, brought an offering of bread and salt.

At eleven o'clock our saloon carriage was reattached to the Warsaw express, and we started once more on our journey homewards. In the train there was a young officer, who had come from Smolensk with a message from the Bishop, asking the Archbishop whether he would receive a visit from him, on passing through Smolensk at half-past two o'clock in the morning. Accordingly about half an hour before arriving we got up and dressed, and as the train drew up to the platform we found Bishop Nicanor, accompanied by some of the monks of his monastery, awaiting us. On entering our saloon he exchanged a cordial episcopal greeting with the Archbishop, and, after making many affectionate inquiries after Mr. Pascoe, our chaplain at Archangel, of which town he was formerly the Bishop, he gave us some photographs and some commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles of which he was the author, and then just before leaving presented the Archbishop with a magnificent cloth of silver *omophorion* (the characteristic Episcopal

vestments resembling in form the Western *pallium*) embroidered with gold, asking him to receive it from him as a keepsake, and as a token of his sincere hope and desire for a speedy union between the English and Russian Churches.

On the following day several sympathetic demonstrations, similar in character to those at Vjazma, occurred at the stations on the road so long as we remained within country inhabited by an Orthodox population. At Brest Litoffski we were joined by the Abbess Catherine (*née* Countess Ephimoffsky), who is much interested in the English Church and in the question of the reunion of the Churches. Her convent is situated just within the confines of the ancient kingdom of Poland, where she has started excellent schools for the hitherto neglected Orthodox and Uniat children of the neighbourhood living in the midst of a bitterly fanatical and hostile Roman Catholic population. At Biéla, where her convent is situated, the whole of her community came down to the station, accompanied by the school-children, who brought an offering of Easter eggs, a strip of linen embroidered in Russian cross stitch in blue and red with the words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord," in English and Slavonic, and a beautifully embroidered pair of chalice veils,[1] which they presented to the Archbishop. As long as the train was standing they repeatedly sang "*Is polla eti, despota,*" and other anthems which it is customary to sing at the reception of a Bishop. This was the last demonstration from the country through which we passed, which after this the whole way to Warsaw is mainly inhabited by Roman Catholics and Jews. But before we descended from the train the guards and even the engine-drivers came to receive the Archbishop's blessing, as well as many of our fellow-passengers with their children.

At Warsaw we had two interesting interviews with the learned Archbishop Flavian, who is a member of the Russian Holy Synod and an excellent French scholar. We were most kindly received by the Governor-General, Prince Imeretinski,

[1] Two veils are used by the Eastern Church; one to cover the paten and a larger one to cover both paten and chalice.—[A.R.]

and entertained at dinner by the Vice-Governor, Mr. Lvoff, who also was good enough to see that a saloon carriage was provided for us as far as Berlin. Just before sending us down to the station he said to me, "As far as the frontier you will travel free; after that you will pay your first-class fares to Berlin". Just before arriving in Berlin, when we rose from our beds, after having passed a perfectly comfortable night, unmolested by the usual frontier troubles, the German guard came to me, saying, "At the frontier tickets were taken for you to Berlin, but there are only *ten*, and for a saloon carriage *twelve* are necessary". It thus became clear that in order to save us from the inconvenience of changing carriages at the frontier ten first-class tickets had actually been paid for us, leaving us only our ordinary fares to pay. This will give some notion in a concrete form of the kindness and hospitality with which we were treated in Russia.

Thus ended our journey. I am very far from wishing to exaggerate its importance from a technical ecclesiastical point of view. Formal reunion between the English and Russian Churches is still very far distant, and, indeed, for the present entirely outside the range of practical politics. Before this can be brought about there are many rough places which will have to be removed, and crooked paths to be made straight. Still, no one can doubt, that friendly intercourse between the two greatest national Churches in the world is a step in the direction of unity, and both English and Russian Churchmen have cause to congratulate themselves that their respective positions admit of such mutual civilities as I have described being possible between the authorities of their respective communions. Friendly intercourse cannot fail to produce good results, and to prepare the way for that perfect union in the future to which all who profess and call themselves Christians must aspire.

CHAPTER XII.

THE VISIT OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF FINLAND.

In 1897 the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated and the Russian Church deputed Antonius, Archbishop of Finland, to assist at the celebration and to bring a greeting to the Church of England. The following account of the Archbishop's visit is taken from the *Guardian* of 24 June, 1897 :—

The Archbishop of Finland and Viborg, accompanied by General A. A. Kiréeff, Mr. Yury Sabler, and the rest of his suite, arrived at Dover on Thursday morning, 17 June, by the Ostend boat, on his way to London to attend the commemoration of her Majesty's reign of sixty years. He was met on the pier by the Very Rev. E. Smirnoff, Chaplain to the Russian Embassy, and by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck. As this was his Grace's first visit to Great Britain, several of the local clergy and others from Folkestone assembled on the Admiralty pier to greet him, amongst them being the Revs. E. G. L. Mowbray, Vicar of St. Bartholomew's, Dover, T. Evans, S. F. Green, and Canon Woodward (Folkestone). The reception had to be very hastily arranged, and some who had promised to come did not do so, owing to a mistake as to the arrival of the boat. The following Address was presented to the Archbishop by Mr. Mowbray :—

"We, representing the clergy of Dover and Folkestone, in the diocese and province of Canterbury, offer to you, Most Reverend Father in God, by Divine Providence Archbishop of Finland, greeting in the Lord.

"Intelligence having reached us of your gracious visit to

this country on the occasion of the celebration of the sixtieth year of the reign of our most gracious Queen Victoria, and the gathering together at Lambeth of our holy fathers of the Anglican Communion, we seize the opportunity of your Grace's first landing on our shores to express to your Grace, and through your Grace to all the Holy Russian Church, our most sincere goodwill and sympathy, and our appreciation of the fraternal spirit which has prompted your mission. We recall with gratitude and pleasure the tokens of goodwill and kindly feeling which have lately passed from time to time between our respective branches of the Holy Catholic Church, especially as shown on the occasion of the visits of his Grace the Archbishop of York and the Right Rev. Bishop of London to your Grace's country, and we pray Almighty God that your Grace's visit may tend to strengthen the hands of those, both in your Grace's country and ours, who heartily desire and endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

"We ever remain your Grace's most faithful and devoted servants in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The Address was read to the Archbishop in English, and translated by his chaplain, through whom he suitably replied. He shortly after proceeded to London.

News of the Archbishop's coming only reached London some twenty-four hours beforehand, so that very little time was given for making proper arrangements for receiving him with something of that cordiality which was afforded to the Archbishop of York by the Russian clergy and laity in all the towns which he recently visited in Russia. Thus it was a very impromptu gathering which assembled on one of the platforms of Victoria Station to welcome his Grace. It was, however, a very striking scene as the train drew up alongside the platform, which, at that part, was crowded with some hundreds of clergy, sisters of mercy, and laity. On stepping out of the carriage, the Archbishop, who was dressed in a black episcopal cassock with tall monastic black cowl, with his jewelled panagia and cross on his breast, was received by

the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Archdeacons of London and Middlesex, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord E. Churchill, Sir Theodore Hope, Mr. Athelstan Riley, Colonel Hardy, Prebendary Montagu Villiers, the Rev. J. Storrs, and others, Professor Bevan and the Rev. L. J. Percival attending as the Bishop of London's chaplains. Several Russians were also present, including Prince Andronikoff, Professor N. Orloff, and others.

As soon as the Archbishop appeared on the platform, a small choir of boys and men from Holy Trinity, Sloane Street, sang *Is polla eti, despota.*

As the words were sung, the Archbishop, extending his hand to be kissed on every side, made his way through the kneeling crowd to the royal reception-room of the station, accompanied by his suite and Mr. Birkbeck. Here a pause was made while Colonel Welby, of the Scots Greys (the Tsar's own regiment), who was present in an official capacity at the Tsar's Coronation, read the following Address:—

To His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Finland and Viborg.

"My Lord Archbishop,—We cannot allow your Grace to set foot in this capital of the British Empire after your long and arduous journey without offering you a hearty welcome. On the auspicious occasion of the Jubilee of the Most Religious and Gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria, many illustrious guests are visiting our shores, the representatives of many sovereigns and peoples. You, my Lord Archbishop, alone of these exalted personages, appear amongst us in a twofold capacity. As coming to us under the high authority of his Imperial Majesty, the Most Religious and Orthodox Emperor of All the Russias, the father of the Russian people, you represent the Orthodox Russian nation. As sent by the Holy Governing Synod of Russia, you represent the mightiest of all national Churches, a Church which, adorned with the memory of St. Vladimir, St. Alexander Nevski, St. Sergius, and of many other illustrious servants of the Most High, today cherishes within her bosom eighty millions of the human

family; a Church to which, as was set forth by our late revered Primate, the Russian nation "owes that which she has attained of power and dignity among the nations of Christendom"; a Church which is honoured throughout the world as the inflexible upholder of the saving faith of our Redeemer, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and maintained by the Holy Œcumenical Councils of the undivided Church of Christ.

"My Lord Archbishop, the faithful of the Church of England are profoundly grateful to your most religious sovereign, and to your illustrious Church, for the sympathy extended towards them by this gracious token of peace and love.

"We pray the Great Head of the Church to bestow His Benediction upon the most religious and gracious Emperor Nicholas Alexandrovich, and upon his most religious Consort the Empress Alexandra Theodorovna, the illustrious granddaughter of our most gracious sovereign, and to vouchsafe to draw our two communions more closely together to the honour of His Holy Name and the furtherance of the salvation of souls."

In reply, his Grace spoke a few words in Russian expressive of his delight at the Christian love and kindness which had prompted them to welcome him, a stranger and a foreigner, coming in obedience to a royal command to a country unknown to him before, at the very moment of his entrance into this great city. His prayer would ever be for the glory and well-being of her Gracious Majesty the Queen, and for the closer intercourse and union of the Churches.

Thereupon the Archbishop and his party stepped into the carriages which were in waiting, and, amidst loud cheers from the crowd that filled the approach to the station, drove off to Fulham Palace, where an episcopal welcome was awaiting him.

In the afternoon the Archbishop attended a garden-party at the Palace, at which many of the Colonial Bishops were presented to him.

On Friday a reception was offered to the Archbishop at the Chapel of the Russian Embassy, Madame de Stael, wife of the Russian Ambassador, and all the members of the Embassy being present. The Archbishop was received by the Chaplain to the Embassy, the Very Rev. Eugéne Smirnoff, who delivered the following Address:—

"My Lord Archbishop,—Most Reverend Father in God,

"With peace and love we welcome your arrival in this country, and your entrance into our house of prayer.

"You have come here to bring a greeting from the Orthodox Russian Church to the Sovereign Mother of this land, her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, on the occasion of the completion of the sixtieth year of her reign.

"But you have come to this country as the messenger of peace and love in a still wider sense. You bring a greeting from the Orthodox Church to the Anglican Church, which a year ago honoured the coronation of our autocratic Tzar by sending her Bishop to our ancient capital. Greeting for greeting, peace and love in answer to peace and love.

"Our little church, founded in 1716 by the loving care of the great reformer (Peter the Great) of the Russian land, was raised by the thought and blessing of the ever-to-be-remembered Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebes, and Exarch of Paranie, with a view to bringing the Churches nearer to each other and uniting them. The fate of nations and Churches is accomplished by extraordinarily slow means. It is only in the eyes of God that 1000 years are as a day. It is not so with us. Nearly two centuries have elapsed since the foundation of this holy house of prayer, and it is only now that the first steps have been taken towards bringing men nearer to each other in Church matters. The former enmity is faded away and dying, and in its place peace and love are appearing; you, gracious Prelate and Father in God, come from holy Russia as their messenger.

"One of the occasions for this advance was afforded by the venerable crowned Mother of this land, who during her life has gone through many trials, sent down to her from above,

and who at the sorrowful news of the blessed end of our Tzar-peacemaker (Alexander III) raised to the Most High her prayers for the repose of his soul in the words and chants of our Church.[1] The death of the Peacemaker breathed new life into the hearts of believers, and predisposed them to this work of peace abounding in love.

"Glory and thanks be to God that we sinful men have lived in this glorious and ever-to-be-remembered time.

"Glory and honour to the great Mother of this land by her warm maternal feelings foreseeing the coming religious drawing together of the nations.

"Glory and honour to you, gracious Prelate and Father in God, for taking upon yourself the labour of coming to this country as the messenger of peace and love.

"Glory and honour to the great Orthodox Russian Church for answering with motherly tenderness to the greeting of peace and love with a corresponding greeting of peace and love.

"Glory and honour to the Crowned Anointed Autocratic Monarch of All the Russias for sending you to this country as the messenger of peace and love; he by his heart—and the hearts of kings are in the hands of God—has understood the heart of the Orthodox Russian nation, which from time immemorial has ever striven for the loving pacification of the Churches.

"Glory and honour to his most religious Consort, invisibly uniting by the thread of blood relationship two countries and two peoples on one field of love and peace, and, like her august grandmother, cherishing the hope of some day seeing it one field of Christ.

"Everlasting memory and blessed rest in Christ to the never-to-be-forgotten Peacemaker Tzar, who has bequeathed

[1] This refers to the Contakion of the Departed, *Give rest, O Christ, to Thy servant with Thy Saints* (*English Hymnal*, No. 744) brought back by Birkbeck from Russia with the Kieff melody, and translated by him. It was first sung in England by command of Queen Victoria at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the occasion mentioned above.—[A.R.]

unto all the world a great and wonderful testament of love and peace.

"Glory and honour to his most religious Consort, who is indeed the guardian Angel of Holy Russia, tenderly, as it were, with the gentle motion of her wings, directing men towards the realisation of the testament of the Great Peacemaker.

"But twofold glory and unceasing honour to the Great Source of peace and love, the King of kings and Lord of lords. Unto Him be glory, honour, and worship unto ages of ages. Amen."

The Archbishop briefly replied, and a short service followed, concluded with the usual "desire for many years" for the Imperial Family of Russia, the Holy Synod of Russia, including the Archbishop as a member of Synod, and Queen Victoria, and all the Royal Family.

His Grace afterwards called upon the Russian Ambassador, and subsequently lunched with Mr. Birkbeck. At 2.30 p.m. he was received at Lambeth by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who showed him over the palace, the chapel, and library. At seven o'clock the Archbishop of Finland went to Marlborough House, accompanied by General Kiréeff and Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, and was received by the Prince of Wales.

On Saturday he went to Cambridge and took his degree, the Archbishop of York travelling with him. The Master of Trinity conducted him over King's College chapel and entertained him at luncheon, where he was met by the Vice-Chancellor and a distinguished company.

On Sunday morning (June 19) his Grace attended St. Paul's. In the evening he went to St. Barnabas's, Pimlico. The Vicar (the Rev. A. Gurney), surrounded by the clergy and choir, received him in the south porch, where the choir sang in Slavonic the *Dostoino jestj* (Ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς) from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which is always sung when an Eastern Bishop arrives in a church.

After being censed by the Vicar he gave his blessing to the choir, who greeted him with *Is polla eti, despota*. The pro-

cession then entered the church, his Grace following the Vicar, preceded by cross and candle bearers and blessing the congregation on each side as he proceeded up the nave. When he arrived at the chancel he turned to the congregation and blessed them in the usual Eastern fashion, towards the west, the south, and north. He then sat in a place prepared for him on the north side of the sanctuary, the choir again singing the salutation before mentioned. After the censing of the altar at the *Magnificat* the Vicar censed his Grace, who gave him the usual blessing. At the conclusion of the service the Archbishop gave the blessing to the whole congregation. He afterwards had supper with Mr. Gurney, who had invited the other clergy of the parish and Lord and Lady Halifax to meet his Grace.

On Monday the Archbishop had luncheon with Lord Halifax, who afterwards took him to the House of Lords, where, standing on the steps of the throne, he was present when Lord Salisbury moved, and Lord Kimberley seconded, the Address to the Queen. He was afterwards conducted by Lord Rowton, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Halifax, to Westminster Hall, St. Stephen's Chapel, and the House of Commons. His Grace then called upon the Archbishop of York, and in the evening had the honour of dining at Buckingham Palace with the Queen. On Tuesday night he dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Archbishop Antonius was present with the English prelates on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral at the short service which took place in the presence of Queen Victoria during the procession. He is easily distinguished in the well-known picture of the event with Birkbeck, in Deputy-Lieutenant's uniform, standing by his side.

On the Archbishop's return to Russia a complete set of Eucharistic vessels, as used in the Orthodox Church, of silver-gilt set with enamels and precious

stones, was presented to him by a number of bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of England. The following is the translation of the Archbishop's letter of thanks, sent through Birkbeck :—

"Dear Mr. Birkbeck,—

"Accept my hearty thanks on receiving the sacred Eucharistic vessels which have been presented to me in memory of my visit to England in 1897 on the occasion of the Jubilee of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. I heartily thank your fellow-countrymen, friends of the union of the churches, who have taken part in presenting me with sacred objects so precious to me. When I use them at the celebration of the most holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, these vessels will always serve as a visible expression to me of holy yearnings of some members of the Anglican Church for Catholic unanimity in the faith and communion in the sacraments of the members of the Christian Churches who are now separated from one another. This unanimity in the faith, which constitutes the essential condition of communion in the sacraments in general, is more particularly of absolute necessity for communion in the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. Just as the Hebrews under Moses gave effect to their unity by the fact that all did eat the same spiritual meat and all did drink the same spiritual drink, so also the many members of the Church of Christ only give effect to their unity, becoming in very truth one body, when all are partakers of that one Bread (1 Cor. x. 3, 4, 17). And this was the case in the early Christian Church. Then there was unanimity of all in the faith, and therefore all were partakers of the one Bread. But when later on differences of opinion arose, which wrested many away from the unity of faith, it followed as a consequence that the partaking of all of the one Bread ceased. And therefore every good Christian who loves the Lord ought to strive for the restoration of unanimity in the faith such as the ancient undivided Church possessed, in order that the partaking of all of the one Bread may therefore be also restored.

The realisation of this unanimity in the faith will only then become possible when we shall have been strengthened in the mutual Christian love of all for one another. And so 'let us love one another in order that with oneness of mind we may confess Father and Son and Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and undivided Trinity'.[1] All of us who are members of the Orthodox Catholic Church always heartily pray for this. And I from henceforth shall pray for this with especial fervour, whenever at the celebration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ I shall see before me the sacred vessels which you have brought me.

"Yesterday I for the first time used these vessels at the celebration of those Divine Mysteries. It gives me special happiness to note that it was just on that particular day, because it was the eleventh anniversary of my consecration as Bishop. And thus it has pleased the Lord in His mercy to double my happiness on this day. Together with the prayer for those who offered the Eucharistic gifts; i.e. the *prosphorae*, and for those on whose behalf they were offered, I offered up a prayer also on behalf of those who have presented me with these sacred Eucharistic vessels, and henceforth shall also do so, when I shall use them at the celebration of the Liturgy. I heartily beg you to convey to your fellow-countrymen who have taken part in presenting me with a gift which is so precious to me my feelings of profound gratitude. May the mercy of the Lord ever be with you all!

"With the kindest regards and perfect devotion,

"I am your most humble servant,

"ANTONIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF FINLAND."

4 *May*, 1898,
ST. PETERSBURG.

[1] This passage is from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, and is sung by the deacon and choir immediately before the recital of the Nicene Creed.

CHAPTER XIII.

VLADIMIR NA KLJASMJE.[1]

It has always seemed strange to me, that the ancient provincial cities of Russia, more especially those which have played a great part in her past history, should not have received more attention from foreigners interested in Russian affairs than has hitherto been the case. Other countries are not treated in this way. No one would dream of laying claim to a knowledge of England or of France without seeing something beyond their modern capitals or great commercial centres. But with regard to Russia, foreigners, with but few exceptions, seem to think it quite sufficient to know St. Petersburg and Moscow to be authorities upon all Russian subjects. The rest of the Empire they seem to think may be seen, so far as it is necessary to see it at all, from the windows of the railway carriage. One town, one village, one *muzhik* is, we are told, exactly like all the rest from one end of Russia to the other. "Traversez," says M. de Vogüé, "cent villages entre Petersbourg et Moscou : par les traits, les attitudes et le costume, tous les gens que vous rencontrerez sont frappés a la même effigie." And so, of course, it is not worth while to stop on the journey. And the country towns are treated in the same way. You may see, from the train, that their principal buildings are churches, and that, like the Moscow churches, these are surmounted with domes; therefore it is quite enough to see a single specimen of a Russian church in Moscow, and one need not trouble oneself about the others.

[1] This paper was read before the Anglo-Russian Literary Society in 1895.—[A.R.]

And yet, Russia will no more admit of the principle, *ex uno disce omnes*, being applied to her towns than to the other objects of interest which she contains. When one comes to study her history, one finds that out of all the old towns which cluster round Moscow within a radius, let us say, of 200 miles, there is hardly one which has not played its part in shaping the destinies of the Empire: while, if the traveller will take the trouble to visit them, he will in almost every case find some remains or other of that past, which not only are of high artistic value, but which will bring home to him, in a manner which nothing else can do, the part which the town in question has played in its country's history. And out of all these towns, whether on account of its historical past, or of the monuments which still remain to bear witness to its former greatness, there is none that surpasses the ancient city of Vladimir on the Kljasma in interest. The British tourist, who, on the advice of his Murray, elects to pay a day's visit from Moscow to the fair at Nijni-Novgorod, little knows, as he passes on his journey thither under the white walls of Vladimir in the night express, that these walls contain the Kremlin of the ancient capital of Russia! If, on the journey back, he is awake in the early morning, he may be struck by the beautiful Eastern view of the city, with its houses and churches, with their white walls, and coloured roofs intermingled with gardens and trees, sloping up the hill which is crowned by the golden dome of the Cathedral of the Assumption blazing in the rising sun! But how little he realises that beneath that dome the sovereigns of Russia were crowned for more than two centuries, that many of them lie buried there, and that amongst these there are some to whom even we owe an eternal debt of gratitude, inasmuch as more than one of the Grand Dukes of Vladimir laid down their lives in defence, not of their own country only, but of the Christianity and civilisation of the whole of Europe, when both alike were threatened by the devastating blight of the Mongol invasions.

Let us first of all realise the place of Vladimir in the general history of Russia. Early Russian history, if written

in the old-fashioned manner, as a mere narrative of the consecutive events of each reign, is one of the most entangled and unremunerative subjects for study which can possibly be imagined. It is not until we come to look at the institutions of Russia, and select from them, not those which were merely temporary or accidental, but those which were there from the very first, which have continued down to the present day, and which are, and have always been, essential to her existence as a State, that these chronicles of events will become both intelligible and interesting. Now, the main factors in the growth and development of the Russian Empire, the principal active [1] causes which have been at work throughout her history, and have made her what she is, are, I think, but two in number. They are, her autocratic Monarchy and her Church. It is useless to study any part of Russian history except in relation to these, and they alone represent the continuity of the State. From the moment that, 900 years ago, the religion of the Orthodox Greek Church was incorporated into the monarchy which had been founded about a century earlier by Ruric, the germs of the Russian Empire as we now see it were already there. The history of Russia is nothing more than the record of the gradual development of these two principles, and of their growth into what they are at the present day.

When once this point is grasped, Russian history becomes easy enough to understand. But having arrived so far, the next thing we have to do, is to discover some principle upon which the continuous growth and development of the autocracy and of the Church can be divided up into historical periods. This again the history of Russia provides for us in the happiest manner. From the time of Vladimir the Great, the capital

[1] By inserting the word "active," I hope to guard against any appearance of ignoring other elements which contributed to the development of Russia into the Empire as we now see it, such as the peculiar genius of the Slavonic race, the geographical conformation of the country, etc. These were, of course, of the utmost importance, but they were passive rather than active causes in the growth of the State. The Slavonic nationalities which have grown up under Latin and Western influences, provide a practical proof of this.

city has been an important element in the life of the nation. And the capitals of Russia have been four in number: firstly, from the time of St. Vladimir, in the end of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century, Kieff; secondly, from the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century, Vladimir; thirdly, for the next 400 years, down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, Moscow; and lastly, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day, St. Petersburg. I think that it would be difficult to point to the history of any country in which more admirable landmarks are provided. Each change of the capital represents a distinctly new period, yet none of these changes represent a breach with the tradition of the past. No country in the world can boast of a more complete historical continuity in its institutions than Russia, and no history in the world has such ready means provided for tracing these institutions, and marking the various stages of their growth, as are to be found in the successive removals of her capital.

The importance of Vladimir in Russian history consists in the fact that it provides the link between Kieff and Moscow in the growth of the Russian autocracy. I do not think that enough attention has been paid by historians to the extraordinarily conspicuous place which the capital city occupied even in the early history of Russia, as compared with the early history of other modern nations. There can be little doubt that this was due to the peculiar circumstances under which the nation accepted Christianity. In none of the kingdoms of modern Europe was Christianity so easily received as in Russia, but in none were the political changes effected by its conversion so instantaneous and so complete. Before the time of St. Vladimir, the monarchy, if we may call it so, much resembled all the other lordships which has been established by the hardy Scandinavian or Teutonic adventurers in other parts of Europe. While these born leaders of men were able everywhere to form a sort of rude military organisation, based principally upon the personal bravery of themselves and their families, neither in Russia nor elsewhere were they able, on

the basis of their own civilisation, to form an organised State capable of any degree of permanency. For this they had to wait, until through Christianity they were brought into contact with the traditions of government embodied in the Roman Empire. This is, of course, an historical truism, and it is needless to trace it out in respect to the Western nations. But the point that is often missed, and yet which, if we are to understand Russian history at all, must be insisted on, is, that Russia was brought into contact with the Roman Empire and Roman civilisation in a much more immediate and direct sense, than were the rising monarchies of the West. It must be remembered that, before the rise of these latter, the Western Empire had already ceased to exist at Rome; and consequently that it was only upon a tradition of the past, upon the *Romani nominis umbra*, and not Rome herself, that the Western Kingdoms were modelled. But the foundations of the Russian monarchy were, on the contrary, laid at a time when the Eastern Empire was still in actual working order. Constantinople, in the time of St. Vladimir, was no mere name, or shadow of departed greatness. On the contrary, it was still a living and vigorous embodiment of the Imperialism of the Christianised Roman Empire. Accordingly one finds that, although the House of Rurik was of Scandinavian origin, the Grand Dukes, together with Christianity, immediately adopted from Constantinople many ideas of government, which, while utterly alien to the genius of the Scandinavian, or indeed, of the whole Teutonic race, formed an indispensable part of the Roman system of government. I cannot admit, with Rambaud and other historians, that the idea of the Russian autocracy was an after-thought, the result of the gradual filtering into Russia of Byzantine notions of government and law through the medium of the clergy of the Greek Church. That the Eastern Church prepared the nation for its realisation is, of course, true. Western Christianity, with its perpetual conflicts between Church and State, and its official language, separating the culture of the educated classes from that of the common people, could never have created the soil in which

the Russian monarchy has grown. But the influence of the Eastern Empire seems to me to have been more direct than this. The idea of founding a government upon the model of Constantinople appears to have been there from the first, and seems to me to have been as intelligibly grasped by some of the very earliest of Russian monarchs as it was by John the Terrible when he was crowned the first Tzar of Russia in the sixteenth century. And the symbol of this idea is to be seen in the importance which these early sovereigns attached to their capital. Whereas, before the conversion of Russia, we find the successors of Rurik, Askold and Dir and the rest, looking upon Constantinople, in true Scandinavian fashion, as a fit subject for plunder rather than for imitation, within a generation of the establishment of Christianity we find Jaroslaff the Wise not only introducing Byzantine Canon Law into his dominions —for this, indeed, one might find many Western parallels— but actually setting to work to establish a reproduction of Constantinople as his centre of government. Even bricks and mortar were employed for the purpose. Kieff was henceforth to have its Golden Gates, and its Cathedral of St. Sophia no less than the capital of the Eastern world upon the Bosphorus. And from that day to this, Russia has never been without a centre of government, representing, not necessarily the accidental conveniences of commerce, or the most densely populated portion of the Empire, but the seat of the Grand Ducal or Imperial Throne!

It was on account of the impossibility of fully realising this ideal at Kieff that the seat of the Empire was removed by Andrew Bogoliubski to Vladimir in the middle of the twelfth century. The old traditions of the House of Rurik were too deeply rooted to allow the free development of these Imperial tendencies in the first capital. Hardly a single Grand Duke succeeded to the throne without having to fight for it. For two generations the Sovereigns of Kieff had been looking more and more towards the basin of the Volga as a source of strength to the monarchical idea against the yet vigorous remains of the anarchical system inherited from Scandinavian

times. Vladimir Monomachus (who, even if we must reject the legend concerning the throne and crown, and the Emperor Augustus' cornelian cup, by his very surname represents the Byzantine tradition), had founded the city of Vladimir: and his son, George Dolgorouki, had more and more come to rely upon the principality of Suzdal for maintaining his cause against his rivals. But it was his grandson, Andrew Bogoliubski, who finally established the capital at Vladimir.

This remarkable man was certainly one of the most far-sighted of all the monarchs who have occupied the Russian throne. Even before the death of his father he had made his plans for the future. Bringing with him from his former residence at Vyshgorod, a suburb of Kieff, on the banks of the Dnieper, the famous Greek image of the Mother of God, henceforth known as the "Vladimirskaja," before which every sovereign of Russia, from that day to the present, has been crowned, he set to work to erect a great cathedral, worthy at once of the image itself and of the new capital of his Empire. Nothing was spared which could increase the magnificence and dignity of this building. The stone with which it was built was all brought in barges from the Volga up the Oka, and so to the Kljasma, and the difficulties involved in the task, on account of the shallowness of the river, is best illustrated by the curious and interesting little church of the Pokroff, or "Protection of the Mother of God," which the Grand Duke built on its banks some thirteen versts from the city, in thanksgiving for the floating of some of the barges which had stranded. Andrew Bogoliubski's cathedral at Vladimir is still in existence, and is one of the most interesting in Russia. As we now see it none of the outer walls are those of the original church, the reason being that its foundations were so much injured in a fire in the reign of Andrew's brother Vsevolod, that in order to sustain the weight of the roof, a fresh aisle, if we may use a Western expression for an Eastern church, was added all round its north, west, and south sides, while the East end was rebuilt. Still inside the outer walls added by Vsevolod you may see the old walls of Andrew Bogoliubski

almost in a perfect state: while the new aisles on each side were used as the burial places of the Grand Dukes, whose tombs, and those of their families, may be seen under canopies all along the walls. I may say in passing, that if one wishes to realise how high a degree of civilisation Russia had reached before the Tartar invasions threw everything back, he cannot do better than study the architecture of the churches built by Andrew Bogoliubski and his brother. They represent a distinct advance upon the Byzantine type, modified possibly by the importation of Lombardic influences, yet evidently not of an exotic origin, but built and planned by men who knew what they were about, and what the purposes for which they were to be used required of them. That the style was not a mere foreign importation is proved by the fact that at the end of the century we find the Grand Duke Vsevolod building another church, the Dmitrieffski Sobor, in just the same style, while other examples, which were built before the invasions of the Tartars, which put an end for the time being to all architectural developments on a large scale, prove the same thing, such, for instance, as one of the great churches at Suzdal, the Uspenski Sobor at Rostoff, and many others which could be mentioned.

We have already seen that Andrew Bogoliubski in founding his new capital was making a distinct step in the advance of the autocratic idea. If the Russia of the forests in the basin of the Volga was less fertile, less civilised, than the Russia on the banks of the Dnieper, it was at least less disturbed by domestic feuds between the descendants of Rurik. But the old spirit of the *druzhina* was far from dead even there. It was in vain that Andrew Bogoliubski had refused to set up his throne in Rostoff or Suzdal, and had deliberately elected to erect a new capital as an embodiment of his ideas of centralisation. He was a man considerably in advance of his time, and Russia was not as yet prepared for him. As Rambaud points out, already in the twelfth century he indicates exactly the course of action which the Grand Dukes of Moscow will have to pursue in order, in the sixteenth century, finally

to establish the autocracy upon a firm and sure basis. Every one of the steps by which they at last successfully accomplished their task was at least attempted by him. He breaks through the Varangian tradition of the *druzhina;* he treats his nobles, not as companions, but as subjects. All the decentralising tendencies of the Empire he attempts to crush out; whether they be the power of the appanaged princes, or the liberties and independence of cities like Great Novgorod. All that makes for unity and centralisation, such as the strengthening of the Church, and the translation of its centre of government from Kieff to the new capital, are the dearest objects of his heart. He was, as I have said, before his time, and many of these objects were as yet beyond Russia's power of achievement. The Metropolitical See was not moved to Vladimir from Kieff until 150 years after his time; the Republic of Great Novgorod was not reduced to submission until more than a century later still, while Kieff itself had to await its turn until the reign of Alexis, the father of Peter the Great. Indeed, Andrew's murder at the hands of his discontented nobles, who surprised him at his favourite residence of Bogoliubovo, about eight miles from his capital, only nine days after the untimely death of his son Glieb, is a proof that the time had not yet come for the realisation of his ambitious schemes. Nothing shows this better than the fact, that in spite of the peculiarly brutal circumstances of this murder at the hands of his own followers, who surprised him in his sleep, and then finally dispatched him on the staircase leading from his bedroom (which may still be seen in the monastery which is now built round the remains of his palace), no attempt was made to revenge it either at the hands of his brothers or his nephews. On the other hand, the justification of his policy is not only to be found in the fact that it has since been carried into effect, but also that, if he could have succeeded at the time, many disasters which followed within the next few centuries might have been averted.

I am not proposing to follow out the history of Russia during the period of the supremacy of Vladimir, as capital of

the Empire, but rather to point out what there is which the traveller of the present day may find there to illustrate and throw light upon the history of Russia. But before leaving Andrew Bogoliubski, I would just mention one more building, which, I think, shows that after all he was not in reality the originator of the autocratic idea with respect to the Russian Monarchy, as some have maintained, but was carrying forward a tradition which already existed. I have already mentioned that Jaroslaff the Wise built Golden Gates at Kieff, in imitation of the Golden Gates at Constantinople. The only other building now existing in Vladimir from the time of Andrew Bogoliubski is the Zolotája Vratà, which may still be seen in the midst of the city, and which prove that he was merely carrying on a tradition handed on through the Grand Dukes of Kieff from Constantinople.

It would be interesting to follow out the history of Vladimir through the succeeding reigns of the Grand Dukes. Up to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when John Kalità moved the Throne to Moscow, it still remained the capital of the Empire. Indeed, until the removal of the icon of the "Vladimir Mother of God" to Moscow, on the occasion of the invasion of the Tartars, under Tamerlane, in the year 1395, the church built by Andrew Bogoliubski still remained the central church of the Empire, the Russian Westminster Abbey, where all the Sovereigns were crowned. I should also have liked to say something about the Convent of the Assumption founded by the mother of the great hero Grand Duke, St. Alexander Nevski, where several members of his family are buried, and many interesting historical relics connected with his name are retained. But for this there is no time.

But there is one other point to which I referred at the beginning of my paper; namely, the part that Vladimir took in the defence of Russia, and, indeed, of all Christendom, against the Tartar invasions. So many Western writers, from Gibbon downwards, have told us of the stand made by the Eastern Empire against the Turks, that no one now hesitates to admit that, even though the Turks succeeded in overcoming the

Empire itself, and establishing themselves in Constantinople, yet it is to the long struggle maintained against the barbarians that the Southern nations of Western Europe owe their deliverance. But, how few have given to Russia the credit, which is undoubtedly her due, of warding off a no less terrible scourge from the, as yet, undeveloped civilisation of Germany and the rest of Northern Europe? If we Westerns wish to realise what Russia did, and what she suffered, in defending Christendom against the common enemy, let us enter once more the Uspenski Sobor, Andrew Bogoliubski's great church at Vladimir, and try and picture to ourselves the events of the year 1237. The Tartars, under Baty, were marching on the capital. The Grand Duke Georgi Vsevolod'itch, the nephew of Bogoliubski, was away collecting troops for the defence of the city when it was attacked by the Tartars and taken by storm. Two of the Grand Duke's sons were slain in the defence, a third was captured by Baty and put to death after the storming of the city before the Golden Gates. The Grand Duchess and the rest of her family, together with Bishop Mitrophan, took refuge in the Uspenski Sobor, in the galleries across the West end of the nave. As many of the terrified inhabitants as could make their way into the building were crowded in the nave of the church as a last refuge from the fury of the invaders. The scene, so vividly described by Gibbon, of the entry of the Turks into St. Sophia, after the capture of Constantinople, was anticipated here by some two hundred years. The Tartars break the doors in, and after massacring the crowd in the nave, not being able to discover the way up to the gallery, set fire to the building, and the Grand Duchess, with her family and Bishop Mitrophan, perish in the flames. A few weeks afterwards the Grand Duke himself was overthrown and slain on the banks of the Siti. In this episode we may see what the Tartar invasions meant to Russia. A little time ago a violent attack was made in a German pamphlet upon a Russian writer who ventured to suggest that European civilisation after all owed something to Russia in the matter of warding off the Tartar scourge. It was maintained that

the Grand Dukes of Russia used to pay visits to the Tartar Khans, and as a matter of fact were very good friends with them. I think that Pastor Dalton would hardly have indulged in such unworthy sneers, had he ever stood in that gallery where the Grand Duchess met her doom, and from there looked down upon the silver shrine in the church beneath, where the Grand Duke George reposes, who died in the defence of his country and his religion.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOME NOTES UPON THE MONKS AND MONASTERIES OF RUSSIA.[1]

It was towards the end of my Oxford days, twelve years ago, that I obtained my first glimpse of Russia. I was spending my summer vacation in the usual manner, "roaming with a hungry heart," as the poet puts it, on the Continent, seeing, or at least trying to see and know "cities of men, and manners, climates, councils, governments". Before I left home on a visit to some friends in Sweden, I had chanced to look at a map of the Baltic, and St. Petersburg had seemed so very near to Stockholm, that for the first time in my life I procured a passport with a view to a possible visit of a few days to the two Russian capitals. At that time I knew nobody in Russia, nor a single word of the language; I had read no modern description of the country or its institutions, and although I had seen Turgenieff receive an honorary degree at the Oxford Encænia, I don't think I could have quoted the name of anyone of his or indeed of any of the other Russian novelists' masterpieces. It is true that having just finished with the History Schools at Oxford, I knew something of Russia's past, but after all what little time we gave in the University to the study of Russian history was expended rather with a view to its effect upon the history of other nations than for its own sake, and consequently we did not go very deep below the surface in pursuit of the causes to which these effects were due.

Besides which, such things are best, and, I may add, most easily, studied on the spot, and this especially in Russia; for,

[1] This paper was read before the Anglo-Russian Literary Society in 1894.—[A.R.]

difficult in many respects as Russia is for us Westerns to understand, there are certain broad facts which cannot fail to impress a stranger who visits the country, and which, if he be in the least accustomed to a philosophical treatment of historical questions, will at once, even at first sight, afford a natural solution to many problems of Russia's history. And the chief of all these tangible facts which must strike the traveller is the existence of a great National Church, the evidences of which are to be seen on all sides, in whatever direction he may turn. First, let us take a glance at the capital. Perhaps such matters may not obtrude themselves so forcibly upon the attention of those who, whether Russian or English, have been born and brought up in St. Petersburg, and are therefore accustomed to them; still less upon those who come from the ancient capital or other historical towns of the Empire and are accustomed to "the same things, but more so". But to the foreigner who visits St. Petersburg for the first time, the honour in which the national religion is there held in comparison with the other capitals in Europe is most striking. Let us first compare it with other modern capitals,[1] with Copenhagen, Stockholm, Christiania, or Berlin—and St. Petersburg, remember, is more modern than any of these—and we shall see that, whereas in their case of all their public buildings those devoted to the service of the Church are the most insignificant, in St. Petersburg exactly the opposite is to be found; and, stranger still, if we proceed to compare St. Petersburg with such of the more ancient European capitals as have continued to grow with the times, for instance Paris, Vienna, Munich or Brussels, we shall find this marked difference between them and St. Petersburg, that, whereas in the former most of the ecclesiastical monuments of any magnitude or artistic value which they contain belong unmistakably to bygone days, and seem dwarfed by, and indeed altogether out of keeping with, the modern streets and public edifices, and may in general be looked upon as vanishing quantities, in

[1] By the expression "modern capitals," I mean those capitals, the importance of which dates from a period subsequent to the close of the Middle Ages.

St. Petersburg exactly the contrary is the case. Even in the short time during which the city has existed its progress has tended all in the opposite direction. I would only ask you to compare a modern view of St. Petersburg with any of the old prints which exist of the city as it was 150 or even 100 years ago, and see which has most church towers in it, and then apply the same test to other European capitals—compare, for instance, modern London with a print of London before the Great Fire, or Paris, with a view of Paris before the Revolution: and I think that whatever any man may think of the Russian Church itself—a point which, as we are treating of facts and not of opinions, it is here quite unnecessary to discuss—he will hardly deny that it has succeeded in more than holding its own, as far as the public life of the nation is concerned. I remember, on first landing from the Stockholm steamer, how much I was struck by the little Chapel of St. Nicholas on the Nicholas Bridge; not so much by the connection of a chapel with a bridge (for I knew of the old bridge at Prague, and many other such instances), but by the fact that it was evidently an intensely modern chapel, with plate glass and fresh gilding and everything about it of a pronounced *fin de siècle* type, and still more by the fact that the passers-by neither ignored it nor looked upon it as a mere curiosity, but evidently treated it as a perfectly natural expression of the national faith, quite as significant, and quite as much in its right place, in the eyes of a Russian (that is to say, a Russian who has received a *Russian*, and not a *foreign* education, and who knows what the National Church has been, and still is, to his country), as the Houses of Parliament seem to us Englishmen when we cross Westminster Bridge.

Now, I fear, that by this time you must be thinking that I am talking about anything and everything but the subject of my paper—the Monasteries of Russia, which, as yet, I have not even mentioned. The fact is, that, while it is true that St. Petersburg is not the place where Russian monasticism is best seen and studied, I hope nevertheless to show that its influence upon the Russian Church, and not upon part of that

Church only, but upon the whole Russian Church throughout the Empire, is enormous; and that, so far as in religious matters effects can be traced to their causes, this influence is one of the chief causes of the hold which that Church has ever had, and still has, upon the affections and veneration of the Russian people. The fact cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that the Russian Church was in its infancy, and still is to this day, a Monastic Church—a Church which has never had a Bishop who was not a monk: a Church whose government, whether represented by a Metropolitan, a Patriarch, or by the Holy Governing Synod, has always been in the hands of monks, whose education is mainly monastic, whose daily services are all of monastic origin, and whose very life is permeated with the monastic idea; so that in St. Petersburg, or anywhere else where the influence of the Church is to be seen, or examined, we are actually and of necessity contemplating the fruits of Russian monasticism. At one time it was the same in England. The Anglo-Saxon Church was founded by monks from Rome and Monte Cassino, just as the Russian Church was founded by monks from Constantinople and Mount Athos. Her cathedrals, in contrast to the secular foundations in France, were monastic churches, her Archbishops and Bishops monks —in short the English Church for the first few centuries of its existence may be looked upon as having been, upon the whole, a Benedictine Church. But that the English Church is so no longer goes without saying; and some people may accordingly say: "even if the English Church was founded by monks we have got rid of them now; and will not Russia in the course of time probably do the same?" I do not think so. The causes which led to the fall of English monasticism are perfectly clear. Long before the final catastrophe in the sixteenth century the monasteries had ceased to be an integral part of the national life, and had become mere garrisons held in the interests of a foreign sovereign in Italy. If the monasteries of Russia had ever come to stand in the same relation to Constantinople as the English monasteries throughout the later middle ages stood towards Rome, and if the Patriarch

of Constantinople had used them for his own ends, or perhaps for those of a foreign enemy of Russia, the history of Russian Monasticism and of the Russian Church itself might have been very different. But, as a matter of fact, exactly the opposite has been the case. The salt was good in England and Russia alike, the difference between them consists in the fact that in Russia it has never lost its savour.[1] So far from ceasing to share in the aspirations of the nation, the monks of Russia, on the contrary, during the whole of the nine centuries of their country's existence as a Christian nation, have led the vanguard of Russian patriotism. Take the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius near Moscow alone. St. Sergius and his children have at least three times distinctly saved Russia from the Tartars or Poles, and so they would be ready to do again, if called upon. I remember once when I and a friend were deciphering the inscriptions under some frescoes in the Lavra, in which its seige by the Poles was depicted and described in its various stages, a monk standing by said : " Yes, this is what St. Sergius then did for us ; he will do the same again if the *Niémtzy*

[1] I wish it to be clearly understood, that I am not here referring to the religious side of the question, but am examining the place occupied by Monasticism in the destinies of the two nations from a purely historical point of view. I am very far from wishing to defend the individuals who were responsible for the suppression of the English religious houses in the sixteenth century : while the sacrilegious methods by which that suppression was brought about seem to me to have involved a breach of most laws contained in the Decalogue. I would also point out, in order to illustrate my statement, that the monasteries had ceased to be an integral part of the national life of England long before their suppression, (i) that between 1360 and 1540 only six religious houses were founded in England, whereas in the previous two centuries the number founded was upwards of 500 (*vide* J. H. Blunt, *The Myroure of oure Ladye :* Introd. p. xi) ; (ii) that 140 alien Priories were suppressed by Henry V when he declared war with France in 1415, at the request of Parliament, on the ground that through them money was drained out of England into France ; (iii) that the great statesmen of the fifteenth century and onwards, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, devoted their religious endowments to the establishment, not of monasteries but of collegiate foundations in the universities and elsewhere ; and (iv) that these, unlike the monasteries, were able to survive the overthrow of the Papal Supremacy in England. If these significant facts be compared with what I am going to say about Russia, my meaning will, I think, become perfectly clear.

come here to attack us!" And, whether this be so or not, I believe that so long as the Trinity Lavra is safe, there need not be much fear for St. Petersburg or for the Empire. Not but that even in St. Petersburg itself one may not see something of this side of Russian monasticism; for there is the great Lavra of St. Alexander Nevski, founded by Peter the Great, for the reception of the relics of his great predecessor of the thirteenth century, the Grand Duke Alexander Nevski, who anticipated Peter's victories over the Swedes by nearly 500 years. On the foundation of Peter's new capital, the hero of the thirteenth century left his favourite monastery in the Kremlin of Vladimir (on the Kljazjma), the capital of his time, the Monastery of the Nativity of the Mother of God, where he had lain since his death, and where the image of the Mother of God (Znamenie Bozhiej-Materi) which always accompanied him into battle, may still be seen. He was brought back to the scenes of his former exploits; so that Russia might know that in moving her capital she was not to break with her glorious past, but rather in the strength of that past to move forward to even greater glory and power. This act of Peter has always seemed to me to constitute one of his chief claims to the title of Great; it shows more than anything could do, how well he understood upon what the foundations of his country's greatness rested; and if an Englishman may be allowed to say so, it is worthy of more attention amongst some of his countrymen who profess to admire him the most, than it has hitherto received.

But we must now leave St. Petersburg; for in spite of the Lavra of Alexander Nevski, and the beautiful Novo-Diévichij Convent, it is not there that Russian monasticism can be best studied. Let us go on to Moscow. I don't suppose anyone ever forgets the first view which he obtains of the beautiful old city Moscow, with her gardens and palaces, her green roofs and white walls, the sanctuary of Russia and first imperial city, crowned with her chaplet of golden domes! But there is another aspect of the ancient capital, which, owing to the growth of the north-eastern portion of the city

where the St. Petersburg railway enters it, is apt to escape notice on the traveller's first entry, but which, if he makes a fair number of excursions outside the town in other directions, must inevitably arrest his attention ; and this feature is, that *the city is surrounded by a perfect circle of monasteries.* This fact struck me even on my first visit, when, as I have already said, I knew nothing of Russia : and I remember on my return to England comparing, in conversation with a friend, this circle of monasteries which surrounds Moscow and which must be passed through, wherever one enters the city, to the circle of detached forts through which one passes in the train on entering Paris, and saying to him that this fact was emblematic of the difference between France (and indeed all other nations) and Russia ; that is to say, that Russia's chief strength lies, not in her army, nor in her fleet, nor in her fortifications, but, in her Church. Let me before I go on, explain what I mean by this statement, and secure myself against all possible misunderstandings. In the first place I do not mean it to serve as a text for a sermon, for this would be out of place before a Literary Society. In the second place, I have no intention to depreciate either the Russian Army or the Church of France ; for both of them have rendered services to their country for which any nation might envy them. I simply wish to point to the historical fact that when her army is destroyed and her capital occupied by an enemy, France has to come to terms with him, and the same thing we constantly hear (if under the term army we include the fleet) would be true of England ; whereas, even if the Russian Army were defeated in the field, only the first line of her defence would be destroyed ; there would be the Russian winter and the Russian peasantry behind to take up the national standard : and even supposing all of these should fail (and history tells us that although some time or other they have each saved the country, there have been occasions upon which they have all three been overcome), there remains behind them the Church of Russia which has never failed her in her need, but which in her long and eventful

history, to use the words of one of her most illustrious sons,[1] "has given her strength to hold her own, to multiply and increase, to bear the heavy yoke of the Tartars without perishing under it, and at length to cast it off: to outlive and overcome the anarchy which followed the failure of the old royal dynasty, to ward off and drive back" the Swedes, the Poles, the Austrians, and the Turks, to break the power of Napoleon and the army of twenty nations which accompanied him, and in general to become the great nation that she is at the present day.

This is what the Russian Church has done for the nation, and of which I look upon the circle of monasteries round Moscow as an obvious emblem: let us now consider a few more points in which the monks and monasteries have contributed to this result.

The first thing that was accomplished towards the future greatness of Russia by monks was the invention of the Slavonic alphabet, and the translation of the Scriptures and the service books of the Church into the Slavonic language by the two Greek monks Cyril and Methodius. This work was completed, according to the best authorities, in the year 863, that is to say, just one year after the establishment of the Dynasty of Ruric at Great Novgorod, and more than a hundred years before the Conversion of Russia to Christianity under St. Vladimir, in 988. This translation is (with but few changes) that which is in common use in Russian churches at the present day. Nobody, even from a secular point of view, will refuse these two saintly Greek monks the credit of thus conferring a great blessing upon Russia, especially if he knows anything of the history of modern Northern languages, and the effect produced upon them by the translation of the Scriptures, and popular works of devotion into the vernacular. And the labours of these two monks have borne fruit in other

[1] His Excellency K. P. Pobiedonostzeff, Chief Procurator of the Holy Governing Synod. See his speech delivered at Kieff on 15 July, 1888, on the occasion of the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the Conversion of Russia to Christianity under St. Vladimir.

countries far beyond the Russian frontier. When I was at Prague last year, I happened to get into conversation with an old man in the Teyne Kirche on the subject of SS. Cyril and Methodius. He said to me: "We still sing two of their hymns here". "Which are they?" said I. He picked up a Bohemian hymn book, and amidst a mass of more or less unintelligible matter, as far as I was concerned, pointed out two hymns, beginning respectively, "Hospodine, pomilui ny," and "Svjaty Bozhe, Svjaty krjépkij, Svjaty bezsmertny, pomilui nas". If these fragments have survived in a country where the ecclesiastical authorities for many centuries tried to destroy the memory of their very names, what effect must these two monks' work not have had in Russia where from the moment that the country accepted Christianity it was gladly received and appropriated to the national use? And what lover of Russian literature would wish to see the Kyrillic alphabet abolished in favour of such clumsy and barbarous makeshifts from the Latin alphabet as may be seen in some non-orthodox Slavonic lands?

Next we have the conversion of Vladimir the Great and the christening of the Russian nation. I need not go through the story of this well-known event in Russian history. I would only once more point out that the Greek Church, many years before this time, had instituted a rule that all its Bishops should be taken from the Monastic Clergy, and that consequently Michael, the first Metropolitan of Kieff, and christener of the Russian people, and every other Bishop who has occupied that, or any other See within the confines of the Russian Church, has invariably been a monk.

We must next speak of the foundation of the great Pecherskaja Lavra at Kieff. This took place in the eleventh century in the reign of Jaroslaff the Wise, and during the Patriarchate of Cerularius, in whose days the Great Schism between East and West was finally accomplished. In spite of the fact that traces are to be found of religious houses under St. Michael and the other early Kieff Metropolitans, SS. Antony and Theodosius are the true founders of Russian

monasticism in the strict sense of the word. The former, a Russian, who had been to Mount Athos, after having there received the tonsure, returned to Kieff, and for some time lived as a hermit in a cave which had been previously occupied by Hilarion, the first native Russian Metrópolitan of Kieff. He was soon joined by others, including Theodosius, who, at Antony's appointment, became the superior of the young community and introduced the rule of the Studium, the strictest monastery of Constantinople, which, like all other Eastern monastic codes, was the rule of St. Basil the Great, only with additions adapted to the times and circumstances of the case. Thus was founded the Pecherskaja Lavra, the Mother of all Russian monasteries, next to the Troitzkaja Lavra of St. Sergius, without doubt the most venerated place of pilgrimage in Russia, and the home of some of the greatest men in both the ecclesiastical and literary world which Russia has produced. Amongst the earliest of these we must mention the chronicler Nestor, the Bede of Russia, to whom we owe almost all that is known of the earliest period of her history. Here, also, during the Polish Conquest, was made that great stand against the religion of the conquerors, which proves more clearly than anything else could do, that the vulgar reproach so often directed against the Orthodox Church, viz. that without support from the civil power she is incapable of maintaining herself, is devoid of all foundation. It is surely rather hard that two such parties as Church and State, whose obvious interest, not to speak of Christian duty, is to live together in peace and harmony, should be held up to obloquy for not living in a perpetual state of "cat and dog" the one with the other. But the history of the Pecherskaja Lavra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, more especially in the time of Peter Moghila, proves that, while the Orthodox Church is naturally inclined to live at peace with the civil power, yet, if vital religious principles are threatened by the latter, she is quite able to hold her own. The monks of the Pecherskaja Lavra on this occasion showed themselves worthy of the part played by the monks of their mother house, the Studium at

Constantinople, during the iconoclastic controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries.

But I must now pass on to St. Sergius; for though much might be said of the monasteries at Great Novgorod, Vladimir, and other places before his time, it is to St. Sergius after all that Russia owes the most. He died just about five hundred years ago, but of him, if of anyone, it may be said that "his works still follow him". Wherever Russian monasticism exists his influence is felt. Originally a native of Great Rostoff, one of the oldest cities in Russia, he, when a comparatively young man, left his native town and built himself a hermitage in the forests not far from Moscow. Every one who has been in Russia must have seen pictures of the good old hermit, sitting before his hut amongst the fir trees, sharing his dinner with the bear, and indeed giving him the whole of it on fast days, for, as we may read underneath the picture, these are only meant to be kept by rational animals and cannot be understood by brute beasts! But the great significance of this hermitage, which soon attracted hosts of disciples, or companions as St. Sergius preferred to call them, consisted in the choice of its position near Moscow just at the very time when the capital, at the entreaty of St. Peter the Metropolitan, was transferred thither from Vladimir, by the Grand Duke John Kalita. What does not the country owe to these three men, two of them, be it observed, monks? *Moscow* is one answer to this question, and specially concerns St. Peter the Metropolitan; *the uniting to Moscow of the whole of the districts north of the Volga to the Arctic Ocean, and for the most part their colonisation and civilisation* is the second answer, and this was entirely due to St. Sergius and his disciples. The history of this colonising work of the Russian monks has yet to be written; but I will mention just a few examples.

Five of his disciples founded monasteries in the district round Vologda, most of which exist to this day. The most important is the Prilutzki Monastery, which stands about three miles from Vologda on the Archangel Road, and is so

called from the bow-shaped bend (*luk*) of the river in which it stands.

Next we must mention St. Stephen of Perm, also a disciple of Sergius, who invented an alphabet for the Zyrianian language, and translated the service books. He was the Apostle of the Zyrianians of Perm: making his way up the River Vycherda to the mouth of the Vym, he soon by his life and teaching persuaded the natives to destroy their idols and to accept Christianity. He founded three monasteries, in one of which, after having been consecrated Bishop at Moscow, he resided. Thus he was the means of bringing the whole of these districts up to the Ural Mountains into the confines of the Empire. Next we have the Simonoff Monastery, just outside Moscow, the resting-place of the two companions of St. Sergius who led the army of Dmitri of the Don on the occasion of his great victory, founded about 1370 by Theodore, a companion and nephew of St. Sergius, afterwards Archbishop of Rostoff. His successor Cyril, wishing for greater solitude, resigned his post of Archimandrite, and in 1397 settled close to the White Lake (Bjéloje Ozepo), some 250 versts to the N.W. of Vologda, while his companion, Therapont, founded another monastery close by. Both these houses, more especially the former, have played a great part in Russian history, and have themselves given birth to many famous monasteries in the northern districts of the Empire.

Spaso-Kamennaja Biélovinskaja Pustynj.—As early as the thirteenth century there had been a monastery on this island close to the N.E. shore of Lake Kubeno. As in so many other instances in these northern districts of Russia (e.g. Valaam and Konevetz, on Lake Ladoga), an island had been occupied by hermits at a time when the surrounding country was still heathen. The Prince of Biélozersk, an appanage of the Russian Grand Duchy, in crossing the lake on his way to Veliki Ustiug, which formed part of his domains, was overtaken by a storm, and made a vow that if he were saved he would build a church in honour of the transfiguration of the Saviour. He was wrecked on an island, the desolation of

which is best described by its name Stony Island, or Kamenny Ostroff; and to his astonishment discovered that it was occupied by a considerable number of aged hermits, who had lived there for many years in order to escape from the world. In fulfilment of his vow, he built them a church, and selecting one of them as *nastojatelj* or prior, formed them into a monastic community. This community was still in existence in the time of Demetrius of the Don, where we find it presided over by Dionysius, a monk from Mount Athos, who seems to have been a man of great power, and to have raised the monastery to a high state of energy and excellence, and to have thrown himself heartily into the monastic movement initiated by St. Sergius. On his promotion to the See of Rostoff, he was succeeded by Cassian, a monk from Cyril's new monastery near Biélozersk of which we have already spoken. Under him this monastery became still more important. Its vigorous and energetic religious life attracted to it the youthful appanaged Prince Zaozerski to whom the lands surrounding the lake, and to a considerable distance in the north-east, belonged. He entered the community and took the name Joasaph, and soon the whole of his territory was covered with a network of monastic foundations, daughter houses of the monastery on Kamenny Ostroff. I myself know of nine different houses which were founded from here in this manner, some of which exist to this day; and for all I know there may be a great many more. The same thing may be said of the other monasteries in this immense district. Take, for instance, the Monastery of St. Cyril near Biélozersk. In the course of the fifteenth century, besides renovating, as we have already seen the community on Kamenny Ostroff, it founded eight new monasteries, some of which were of the utmost importance, as, for instance, the famous Solovetzki Monastery on the White Sea, of which we shall have to speak later on, and the Kornilieff-Komeljski close to Vologda, which itself became in the following century the mother of thirteen new houses.

Such examples as these might be multiplied *ad infinitum*.

When I was travelling in 1889 in these districts, almost every town that one came to turned out, on investigation, to owe its existence in some manner or other to a monastic foundation, and to the consequent attraction of the native population and Russian colonisers to it as a centre of enlightenment and civilisation. But there is another point which must also be mentioned. This northern district of Russia was originally included in the territory not of the Grand Dukes of Muscovy, but of the Republic of Great Novgorod. All who have read Karamsin's novels (*Povjésti*), know the history of Martha Boretzkaja, the independent-minded *Posadnitza* of Novgorod, who, if she had been able, would have prevented the reunion of the territories of the Republic with the Grand Duchy after delivery of the latter from the Tartar yoke. All, too, who have travelled in the districts round the White Sea will remember how often one comes across the traces of this great and patriotic noblewoman's beneficence to the Church. But, to whom was it that she confided her religious foundations? Not to the monks of Great Novgorod, but *to the disciples of St. Sergius*, the very pioneers of Muscovite influence in these parts. This single fact speaks volumes for the Trinity Lavra. If it was the army of Ivan III which reduced the brave old city Novgorod to submission, it was the disciples of St. Sergius who, without any bloodshed, brought her vast dominions into the reunited Empire. What Russian is there, who, however much he may admire Martha Posadnitza, will not own that the monks by so doing conferred a benefit upon his country?

I should like to have touched upon a great many other questions in regard to Russian monasticism, and, as it appears to me, the great benefits which it has conferred upon the country; but time will not permit. I know that in some Russian circles the monks are often spoken of as a useless idle body of men, but, although in the case of some of the numerous monastic communities in the country this may be true, I find that these accusations are generally made by those who have not taken the requisite measures for ascertaining the facts of the case, by visiting the more vigorous communities, stay-

ing with them, and endeavouring to get a real insight into their monastic life. Many of them are veritable centres of industry, and contain excellent schools, workshops, and other institutions of the greatest value to the surrounding population. Take, for instance, the Solovetzki Monastery in the White Sea, and the wonderful work which it does in educating the youth of the neighbouring district throughout the winter every year. Indeed, in the North of Russia, you may see the same process going on, which I have tried to describe in the case of St. Sergius and his disciples. During the last ten years the monasteries of the Government of Archangel alone have founded three new monastic colonies, one at Péchengski in Lapland, on the Norwegian frontier, another in Novaja Zemlja, the northernmost outpost of Christianity in the world, and a third on the straits leading into the Kara Sea, lately opened up by Captain Wiggins.

Before concluding, let us take just a glance at the life of one of these religious houses. If anyone wishes to see a model Russian monastery, he should go to Valaam, an island in the middle of Lake Ladoga. The island, originally but a wilderness of rock and forest, has been converted into a garden; there are great dairy farms of cows, and hay sufficient for their keep throughout the winter, all harvested by the monks. They have built themselves two large steamers which carry on the business of the monastery with the small towns and villages round the lake; even their engines have been made by the monks themselves, who have also built themselves a huge iron reservoir on a hill overhanging the monastery, into which water is pumped from the lake to supply the whole of the enormous buildings. This monastery, which is a great pilgrimage resort, is probably one of the strictest in Russia. I stayed there for three days with a Russian diplomatist, who formerly held a high post at one of the principal courts of Europe. When we arrived, we were shown into a large room in the guest house outside the monastery, which was to be ours during our stay. We were given a printed list of rules to keep during our visit, amongst which we found the terrible item that smoking was utterly forbidden,

not only in the monastery and guest house, but on the whole island, and even on the monastery steamers. My friend said to me: "O, this rule is only meant for the peasant pilgrims who come here, and won't apply to us". Hardly, however, had we lit our cigarettes, when the door opened, and in came the namjéstnik, or sub-prior, and requested us to put them out. My friend in vain tried to procure an exception for me as a foreigner and visitor. "I am very sorry," said the namjéstnik, "but the rule must be kept: people come here to pray and not to smoke." In spite of the considerable wealth of the monastery, everything was conducted in the severest style; our meals consisted of nothing but *maigre* dishes—for no Russian monk or bishop ever eats meat—and we ate them off wooden plates; while the services seemed to go on the whole day, and were attended not by a few monks only, as one so often sees in less strict monasteries, but by the whole community. It was interesting to see the *Skhimonakhi*, or monks, who have taken the *Skhima*, or great habit. Many of these live in hermitages about the island all by themselves; and in some cases they have taken a vow of perpetual silence, coming to the liturgy and standing within the sanctuary behind the altar.

During our stay on the island one of the monks took us to visit one of these hermitages, inhabited by an old monk 84 years of age, Father John by name (not the famous Father John of Cronstadt of whom perhaps some of you have heard). His history is as follows. Many years ago the late Prior of the monastery, considering that Father John talked too much to his companion monks, ordered him to observe absolute silence until further notice. Finding this a difficult rule to keep in the monastery, he asked and obtained permission to build himself a cell in the forest on the island, about four miles from the monastic buildings. Here he remained for many years apparently forgotten by the Prior, who, however, on his death-bed remembered the rule he had laid upon him, and sent a monk a few hours before his death to release him from it. Father John's fault of talking too much was completely

cured, and indeed more than cured by his long silence, for he seemed to a great extent to have lost the habit of speaking altogether, and it was only by giving him portions of the monastic office to read, that he gradually got back the ordinary use of his speech. He was still living in his cell in the forest when I went to see him: they have built him a small chapel close by in which he celebrates the Liturgy, and he and another monk who has now been appointed to live with him have made a small garden sloping down to the edge of the lake, in which they cultivate just enough in the way of vegetables and fruit to live upon throughout the year. The old monk, who must have been a very handsome man in his day, and still is of striking appearance with his long white beard and ascetic face, and picturesque *Skhima*, or monastic Great Habit, invited us into his cell. It consisted of two tiny wooden rooms; the only furniture which it contained was a chair, a table, and a wooden plank for a bedstead, which had no covering of any kind except a great sheepskin rug. In the corner of the room, on a shelf, stood three icons, the first of the Holy Virgin and Child, the second of SS. Sergius and Germanus, the two founders of Valaam, and the third of the head of St. John Baptist, his patron saint, in the charger. Open on the table we found a Russian translation of the *Imitation of Christ*, which he told us had been his constant companion for the last few years, and was the only book besides a book of Offices of the Church which he should ever read now, and indeed these two books constituted the whole of his library. He told us that it was a great trouble to him being so much talked of and written about in the Russian newspapers, and that it sometimes made him feel that his life might have been a wrong one, but that sometimes he felt that he was already tasting the sweets of Paradise in his peaceful life in the midst of the silent forest. Old as he was, he took us all about his garden and his little church, and then walked down with us back to the edge of the lake, giving his blessing to my Russian friend's little boy who was with us, as we stepped into the boat to return to the monastery.

CHAPTER XV.

RUSSIAN THEOLOGY.[1]

However important the other portions of the Orthodox Eastern Church may be, it is with the Church of Russia that the question of reunion with the East chiefly rests. That greatest and most important of all national Churches, with her little short of 80,000,000 members, comprising almost four-fifths of the numbers, and at least nine-tenths of the learning of the whole Orthodox communion, and which, originating in a single bishopric, planted from Constantinople at Kieff in the tenth century, now extends from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and from the Baltic to the waves of the Pacific, can never be a negligible quantity in questions of Christian unity. Moreover, there is no Church in the world with a better title to the intelligent and sympathetic investigation of English Churchmen. Her firm and never-varying hold on Catholic truth, her enormous influence for good upon the teeming masses over which her jurisdiction extends, and the energy and success of her missions to the heathen and Mohammedans within her own sphere of action, stand without a rival in Christendom; while in the ability and learning of her theologians she is quite able to hold her own with even the most learned of Western communities. If this is not generally acknowledged in the West, it is, as Professor Harnack has pointed out, owing to the fact that they write in a language not often known by Western theologians. In a review of a work upon Theodoret of Cyrrha, written as an

[1] A paper read before the Church Congress at Norwich, 1895.—[A.R.]

exercise for his master's degree by Nicholas Glubokoffski, a student in the Academy in the Troitza Monastery, near Moscow, Dr. Harnack says that that Academy has here produced the most able patristic monograph which has been given to the world since Lightfoot's *Ignatius*.[1] And this is by no means a singular instance.

It is, then, to Russian theology that I am going to devote myself to-day.

It is not always realised, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the Eastern Church, no less than the Roman Church and the various Protestant bodies, possesses a school of theology of its own, which, owing to the fact that it is separated from us by a thousand, instead of only three hundred years of history, it is at first extremely hard for us to understand. The first hindrance we have to overcome is the difficulty of exactly grasping her theological position. When an Anglican first begins discussing matters with Easterns, he is every moment confronted with surprises and enigmas of the most unexpected kind. He finds himself constantly talking at cross-purposes, and is not seldom repelled by what seems to him to be a needless making of mole-hills into mountains. These show themselves even in questions of mere ceremonial. The first religious discussion I ever had in Russia was with a monk at Kieff, not a very learned man, but, as most of the Kieff clergy are, extremely well up in the Roman controversy. Amongst other things he suddenly asked me, "Do you always use incense in your churches?" I, forgetting for the moment that in the Eastern Church no service is without incense, and not knowing of the serious troubles which have occurred in the Uniat Ruthenian body with regard to this, but thinking that he had heard something about our Ornaments Rubric, replied, "No, not always, only sometimes". To my astonishment he answered, "Did I not tell you that yours is a Popish Church? For you know that it was the Papists who invented low masses with no music or incense, and that just about the

[1] *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. Herausgeg. von Dr. Ad. Harnack. No. 20, 4 October, 1890.

time when they were inventing their new clause *Filioque* for the creed." I quote this as an example, not of a serious hindrance to unity, nor of theological learning, but of the sort of misunderstanding which constantly arises in the East from discussing matters from totally different points of view. Perhaps, then, it will be said, "Why not try the common ground of antagonism to Rome?" Let us see the results. Your Eastern begins: "Does your Church withhold the chalice from the laity as the Latins do?" "Certainly not; we remedied this at the Reformation." "Thank God for that," replies the Eastern, "but why, then, don't you also restore to infants Confirmation and Holy Communion, which the West has deprived them of?" To this I have always found great difficulty in replying. Any answer to which an Eastern will even listen tells equally against infant baptism, and if you object that an unconscious infant is incapable of the faith needful in order to benefit by the Sacraments, he will answer that, like the Papists, you are confounding faith with reason, and will remind you that, if St. John Baptist, even before His birth, could rejoice concerning Christ, human wisdom is evidently not a fit judge as to the age at which a child can discern Him in His Sacraments.[1]

This last sentence will give us the key to the whole difference between East and West. The East looks upon the whole of the West as having, together with Rome, left the Church at the great schism consummated in the eleventh century. She never went through our scholastic period, and will have nothing to say to its philosophy or theology. She considers that the West, in insisting upon her view of the points then in dispute, substituted the hypothetical reasoning of a part, for the divinely inspired faith of the whole, of the Church. This is the real point of the controversy concerning *Filioque*. It is not a question as to whether the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father can or cannot be logically proved from Scripture or the writings of the

[1] Khomiakoff, *Essay on the Unity of the Church*. See my *Russia and the English Church*, p. 216.

Fathers, but whether a portion of the Church, however large, or an individual within the Church, however exalted, has the right to add or subtract anything to or from the Church's own definition of her faith without the consent of the whole body. The Easterns maintain that the Church alone is infallible, and this because, being the body of which Christ is the head, she alone is perfectly holy; for inasmuch as sin separates from the knowledge of God, no individual can claim for himself the fullness of her infallibility, any more than the fullness of her sanctity.[1] And thus their difference with Rome and with Protestantism is precisely the same; in each case, they say, a new and unknown quantity is introduced—the substitution of the authority of individuals for that of the Church. Indeed, Eastern theologians maintain that the one logically follows from the other; for if one individual assumes the right to govern the whole Church, there are sure to be those that will dispute it, and assume that they have a right to judge for themselves. Accordingly a Russian writer says that if the whole matter be put into an algebraical form, this unknown quantity may be represented by the formula a; whether it be a Roman $+ a$, or a Protestant $- a$, makes little difference, the a remains there all the same.[2]

Now I have put this theory in its baldest form, not because I absolutely agree with it—for even if he be so uncharitable as to wish to do so, no Anglican can admit that at the great schism Rome ceased to be a true part of the one Church without committing ecclesiastical suicide—but because before there can be any talk of unity, we must at least understand the Eastern position. I think that we here agree with them in principle, however much we may differ in its application. It agrees absolutely with the latter part of our Article XIX on the Church, which points out that individual Patriarchates, even if founded by Apostles, not only theoretically may err, but, historically speaking, have erred before

[1] Khomiakoff, *Essay on the Unity of the Church.* See my *Russia and the English Church*, pp. 197, 215, etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

now in matters of faith. The fact that this Article causes great offence to Easterns is an illustration of what I began by saying, namely, that Easterns and Anglicans so often argue at cross-purposes; for was not the deposition of a Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril Lucar, for Calvinistic heresy, less than a century after this Article was drawn up, a practical example of the truth which it asserts, no less than the condemnation of Honorius by the Sixth General Council?[1] Then, again, let us see how this theory affects the question of the consecration of bishops. Some Roman theologians maintain that the principal consecrator alone confers the Sacrament; and that he derives his authority to do so from the Pope. The Easterns, on the contrary, maintain that, inasmuch as, "without contradiction, the less is blessed of the better," so in the matter of orders, a single bishop cannot by himself make another man bishop—it is only the Church which can do so; and that a council of bishops—many or few, does not matter, so long as the Church accepts them as representing her for the purpose —is the proper instrument in conferring the Sacrament of orders, just as a council, and not an individual, is the proper exponent of her doctrine.[2] Again, just as the authority of a

[1] The late Bishop Alexander, of Kaluga, and other Russian writers who have treated this passage as if it accused the Eastern Church as a whole of being in error, have evidently missed the exact force of the tense of the verb used in this Article. The wording of the passage is as follows: "As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred; so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith". It is possible, with an accurate knowledge of the English language, to twist these words into meaning that any or all of these illustrious Sees of the Eastern Church *are in error* at the present day: it merely asserts the historical fact that at one time or other in the past *they have erred*, a fact which no properly informed ecclesiastical historian will deny. That this passage in Article XIX is not directed against the Eastern Church as a whole, is perfectly clear from the omission of all mention of Constantinople. The argument is that the fact of the Roman See having been founded by the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, did not give their successors immunity from error, any more than the occupants of the other Apostolic Patriarchates. Constantinople is omitted, not because its Patriarchal throne was never occupied by an heretic, for this would of course be notoriously contrary to fact, but because it was not an Apostolic See.

[2] Nicolski, *Explanation of the Services of the Church* (St. Petersburg Imperial Press, 1888), p. 671.

General Council depends upon the whole Church, the laity included, accepting its decisions as the teaching of the Church, and as all the General Councils which the East acknowledges were therefore summoned by the Emperor, so both the hierarchy and the laity (the latter in a properly regulated Christian State may be represented by the secular power) should give their assent to a bishop's consecration in some form or other.[1] One more point. While all the bishops together confer the Sacrament by the laying-on of their hands, only one of them, and he the highest in rank, speaks the sacramental formula. What is this, as Simeon of Thessalonica suggests,[2] but St. Peter, the prince of the Apostles, representing not Christ, but the unity of His Church: as when on the day of Pentecost he stood up with the eleven and proclaimed the truth of the Gospel; or when his successor, St. Leo the Great, proclaimed the faith at Chalcedon,[3] and thus constituted in his own person the expression, although not the origin or the source, of the Church's unity? For though the Easterns look upon Rome as at present fallen away, they agree with us in not looking at the present state of things as normal; and I have often heard them say that if Rome would go back to the *statum quo ante*, they would gladly recognise her Bishop as the Primate of Christendom.

But to proceed. With regard to three hindrances to unity which are often mentioned, both in England and Russia: namely, the Seventh General Council, Invocation of Saints, and the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, it ought to be remembered that the attitude and practice of the Eastern Church in regard to all three of these are in some respect different to

[1] Khomiakoff, *L'Eglise latine et le Protestantisme*, pp. 17, 19.

[2] Sym. Thess., *de sacris Ordinibus*, cap. clxix. It is true that Simeon is here speaking only of the Ordination of a Deacon, but the same thing is implied with regard to the consecration of a Bishop when he speaks (cap. clxxxix.) of the three consecrating Bishops, ordered by the Apostolic Canon, as representing SS. Peter, James, and John, while (cap. ccvi.) the book of the Gospels placed on the head of the Ordinand represents Christ, and, through Him, His Church.

[3] See several verses in the Canon by Theophanes still used by the Eastern Church on the Feast of St. Leo (18 Feb.).

those of any part of Western Christendom, and are indissolubly connected with her teaching with regard to the nature of the Church which we have just been examining. For the unity of the Church does not, from her point of view, consist of a group of individuals agreeing together to differ,[1] neither does it consist of a federation of religious communities whose faith on essential points is not identical,[2] neither is it a unity bound together by its external machinery of ecclesiastical government,[3] but it consists of being a living Body of which Christ is the Head, and in which the Holy Spirit dwells. Accordingly, a modern Russian theologian has defined the Church as "Truth and love, in the form of a living organism".[4] As far as the Church upon earth is concerned, a General Council, when accepted by the Church, is regarded as a final exponent of the truth; while her love finds expression in her worship and in the communion of all her members in prayer.[5] I should have liked to have gone into both these points but I must confine myself to the first.

Both Easterns and Anglicans recognise the authority of the undisputed General Councils. But whereas the Easterns acknowledge seven, many Anglican theologians acknowledge only six, and maintain that as the Seventh General Council was rejected by the Council of Frankfurt, at which the English Church was represented in the form of a letter written to Charlemagne, we never accepted it. But this plea will only satisfy those who have not read the texts of both Councils. The Easterns know all about the Council of Frankfurt, and

[1] Khomiakoff amusingly describes the German Protestant's conception of the Church as "a society of good men differing in all their opinions, but earnestly seeking for truth, with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it' (*Russia and the English Church*, p. 40).

[2] St. John Damasc., *De fide Orthodoxâ*, i. 8, σύνθεσις γαρ ἀρχὴ διαστάσεως. See also Khomiakoff, *Russia and the English Church*, p. 194.

[3] Khomiakoff, *L'Eglise latine et la Protestantisme*, p. 36, and many other places.

[4] Samarin, Introduction to Khomiakoff's theological works, Khomiakoff's works, vol. ii., p. 21.

[5] See Chapter XVIII. p. 237.—[A.R.]

will instantly point out, not only that we afterwards, without protest, accepted the Seventh Council with the rest of the West, but that what was rejected at Frankfurt was not the *τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις*, or relative "worship of honour" and respect to all sacred things and persons which the second Council of Nicæa sanctioned, but *imaginibus ita ut deificae Trinitati servitium aut adorationem impendere*, namely, that absolute service and adoration which is offered to the Triune Deity alone, and which, under the term *λατρεία*, the Second Council of Nicæa also condemns.[1] I may say in passing that modern Russian theologians do not consider the scholastic term *dulia* as a proper definition of the relations which ought to exist between us and the saints, for they say that we are not their slaves, but their brethren, the children of one common Father;[2] and *a fortiori* they, of course, reject it with regard to images. As far as the actual veneration of icons in the East is concerned, it is not of the nature which, to eyes unaccustomed to it, it appears to be. When an Eastern asks my views on the subject, I always, as a Norfolk man, quote the quaint saying of Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich, who declared

[1] The following was the decree of the Second Council of Nicæa (Labbe, t. xiii., p. 377):—

ὁρίζομεν σὺν ἀκριβείᾳ πάσῃ καὶ ἐμμελείᾳ παραπλησίως τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ ἀνατίθεσθαι τὰς σεπτὰς καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνας . . . ὅσῳ συνεχῶς δι' εἰκονικῆς ἀνατυπώσεως ὁρῶνται, τοσοῦτον καὶ οἱ ταύτας θεώμενοι διανίστανται πρὸς τὴν τῶν πρωτοτύπων μνήμην τε καὶ ἐπιπόθησιν, καὶ ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν, οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἥ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις εὐαγγελίοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασι, καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ φώτων προσαγωγὴν πρὸς τὴν τούτων τιμὴν ποιεῖσθαι, καθὼς καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαιόις εὐσεβῶς εἴθισται. ἡ γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει, καὶ ὁ προσκυνῶν τὴν εἰκονα προσκυνεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ ἐγγραφομένου τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

The following is what the Council of Frankfurt decreed, A.D. 794 (Labbe, t. xiii., p. 909):—

Canon II.—Allata est in mediam quaestio de nova Graecorum synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in quâ scriptum habebatur ut qui imaginibus sanctorum ita ut deificae Trinitati, servitium aut adorationem non impendeant, anathema iudicarentur.

Qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitudinem renuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condemnaverunt.

[2] Khomiakoff. See *Russia and the English Church*, pp. 30, 218.

that "at the sight of a cross or crucifix he could dispense with his hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of his Saviour".[1] And every Eastern theologian will tell you that this is all that the Seventh General Council means. It must be remembered that the Seventh General Council does not condemn those who do not themselves use such outward forms, but only those who declare such as do to be idolators,[2] a principle which, in the interests of reunion, might well be applied to other matters. It was dealing with an exclusively Eastern controversy, the true bearings of which are rather difficult for the Western mind to grasp, and of which the Council of Frankfurt plainly knew nothing. Under a praiseworthy but mistaken zeal for purity of worship, iconoclasm unconsciously concealed a very subtle heresy, in which the reality of our Lord's Incarnation was involved. Even previous to the Incarnation, imagery in language had been allowed in order to express truths concerning the infinite Deity, otherwise beyond the comprehension of the finite mind of man. Thus the holy Prophets and Psalmists constantly speak of "the hand" or "the arm" of God, and use many similar expressions, which, unless taken as images in language, are in fact incorrect, and even blasphemous.[3] Therefore it was dangerous to represent these expressions in a permanent form, for they were then liable to lead to false ideas of the Deity, or even to idolatry; and hence the Jewish law condemned the making of painted or graven images of God, on the express ground that the people of Israel "has seen no similitude in the Mount". And this, in view of abuses which had crept in with regard to the use of sacred pictures, was what the Iconoclasts wished to reinforce in the Christian Church. The Orthodox, however, led by St. John Damascene, pointed out that the Incarnation had changed this. The eternal, illimitable (ἀπεριόριστος), invisible, uncircumscribable (ἀπερίγραπτος) Word of the Father, "the express image of His person," had willed for our sakes to take upon

[1] Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*.

[2] Khomiakoff. See *Russia and the English Church*, p. 221.

[3] See *Articles of Religion*, Art. I.

Him, not the nature of the angels, whereby, although He would have become limited, He would still have remained invisible to the human eye, but the nature of man, by which He became not only limited, but capable of being described or delineated. And thus the Church of the New Testament was free to use not only figurative language, but figurative art in her worship. As the contakion for the service on Orthodoxy Sunday (when the Eastern Church celebrates the final acceptance of the Seventh General Council in the year 842) puts it:—[1]

Ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκ σοῦ, Θεοτόκε, περιεγράφη σαρκούμενος, καὶ τὴν ῥυπωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαίον ἀναμορφώσας, τῷ θειῷ κάλλει συγκατέμιξεν. Ἀλλ' ὁμολογοῦντες τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ταύτην ἀνιστοροῦμεν.

The cause at stake was in reality one of the same nature as that for which St. Paul contended in his Epistle to the Galatians. It only remained for the Church to set limits as to how far this worship might safely go, and this she did in the Seventh General Council, which, like the decrees of all the other Councils, was a development, not of doctrine, but of statement of the Church's faith, not an enlargement of her boundaries, but a building up of her bulwarks—of a wall dividing the rock from the quicksands which surrounded it; so that, as St. John Damascene says,[2] the Church need never return to the beggarly elements of the Law, or "be brought into great fear where no fear was," but might freely worship God in act as well as word, in the liberty of the Gospel. That is what the numerous martyrs and confessors, under the fury of the iconoclastic emperors, were contending for, and *pace* the sneers of Gibbon, it was a great and vital principle. Does the Church of England really reject it? Of course the Eastern Church does not expect us to adopt all her ceremonial usages connected with it; she merely expects us to accept her explanation of her own rites, just as we expect her to accept our explanation of our own formulæ. There are some sects in

[1] Triodion, Contakion at Matins of First Sunday in Lent.
[2] St. John Damasc., *De imaginibus*, Or. i. 2.

England which object to our removing our hats on entering a church, on the ground, I suppose, that the Most High "dwelleth not in temples made with hands". To this the answer of an Eastern would be that "the tabernacle of God is with men," and that our places of worship, no less than the tabernacle of the Hebrews, are a shadow or icon of this truth and are therefore but venerated with *τιμητικὴ προσκύνησις*. Can we devise a better answer? That there are dangers connected with the system none will deny, but as a Russian writer[1] puts it, "Where is the man who condemns himself to perpetual silence for fear of uttering idle words?"

In conclusion, I would say that in stating the views that I have met with in the writings of the Russian theologians, and in personal intercourse with them, I have had no intention whatever to attack the Roman Church, still less to find fault with the Church to which I myself belong, and to which I owe all that makes life worth living for. My aim has simply been to show that besides a Western, there is a distinct Eastern way of looking at things. As it is our privilege in the Anglican Communion to be free from those embarrassments which seem to compel Rome and the East mutually to exclude one another from the pale of the visible Church, it is well that we should realise this fact. For this very privilege of ours has its responsibilities. I can understand, though I cannot defend, members of the Roman and Eastern Churches not caring to know the truth with regard to each other's teaching and practice, but what I cannot understand is how English Churchmen, who believe both of them to be members of the one body of which Christ is the Head, can bear not to do their best to understand the doctrines which underlie the actions of these their brethren before putting a bad construction upon them. I remember once an Englishman who has lived all his life in Russia, telling me that even on Easter night the great feature of the Eastern Service was a hymn sung *to the icons*, while the priests offered incense to them! Last year I saw this service at Moscow. The hymn in ques-

[1] Khomiakoff. See *Russia and the English Church*, p. 5.

tion, so far from being addressed to the icons, was nothing more or less than St. John Damascene's beautiful canon,

> The day of Resurrection,
> Earth, tell it out abroad!

with which we are all familiar, while all that the censing of the icons means, is that the Church on earth joins with the Church in heaven in her song of triumph at our Lord's victory over death. Is not this construction, which the Eastern Church herself places upon this beautiful rite, and which all her children perfectly understand, the pleasanter of the two for us to place upon it? Divided as Rome and the East are, Leo XIII himself has lately recommended the study of the great Eastern doctor, St. John Damascene, to the theologians of the Latin Communion. Shall we not join with him in trying to drive away that wild boar of the forest which rooteth up the vine of the Lord—that "singular" or "solitary wild beast" (*singularis ferus*, *μόνιος ἄγριος*), as the Latin and Septuagint versions have it, and which St. Augustine [1] says means every man that says, "It is I, it is I, I alone am right," and thus rends asunder the seamless coat of Christ?

[1] Enarr. in Psalms, Ps. lxxix. (lxxx.), v. 14 (13). "*Et singularis ferus depastus est eam.*" Quid est, "singularis ferus"? Ipse aper qui devastavit eam, singularis ferus. Singularis, quia superbus. Hoc enim dicit omnis superbus: Ego sum; ego sum, et nemo.

CHAPTER XVI.

RUSSIAN MISSIONS TO THE MOHAMMEDANS.[1]

At an early hour in the morning, some twenty hours after starting from Nijni Novgorod in one of the great Volga steamships, which run between that ancient outpost of Muscovy and the city of Astrakhan, the traveller sees a sight which he will not easily forget. On the flat surface of a hill with almost precipitous sides, which stands alone and rises straight out of the Volga, is built a town, apparently consisting of even more churches than houses, surmounted with domes of every colour of the rainbow, interspersed with beautiful green trees growing amongst its houses, or within the walls of its three monasteries. This is the ancient town of Svjazhsk, a fortress built in the year 1550, by the Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, in order to guard his dominions against depredations from the neighbouring Tartar capital Kazan. The once terrible power of the Tartar Khans, who for centuries had held Muscovy under their iron yoke, was now broken. As early as the year 1480 Russia had finally established her independence, and it was now the turn of the Tartars to tremble before the armies of the Tsar. The city of Kazan, which is situated less than twenty miles lower down on the opposite, or eastern, side of the Volga, and which comes in sight, with its white crenelated walls and cathedrals with their golden domes, very soon after passing Svjazhsk, was much too near Ivan the Terrible's new fortress for both to stand together for any length of time. The next year regular siege was laid to the Tartar capital: its citadel was taken by

[1] This was read before a meeting of the Eastern Church Association held at Norwich during the Congress Week, 1895.—[A.R.]

storm, the cross was planted in its midst, on the very spot where the high altar of its principal cathedral, that of the Annunciation, now stands, and in which the relics of the first Bishop of Kazan, St. Juri, now repose in a silver shrine. The street fighting which followed was long and desperate, and the old Tartar capital was practically destroyed. All that remains of it is the curious brick tower of Sumbéki in the Kremlin, so named after the courageous mother of the last Tartar Khan of Kazan: and here on Fridays the Mussulman Tartars may still sometimes be seen mourning for the fate of their ancient sovereigns. The site of the old Tartar town, built on a long ridge with steep slopes on each side, is now occupied by a regular Russian town; but down below there has grown up a new Tartar quarter in which there are something like 12,000 Mussulmans and fifteen mosques. I went one evening to one of these, and obtained leave from the Mullah, who could talk a little bad Russian, to attend the service. At the end of it he came and asked me whether it was Great Britain from which I came, and where *Little Britain* was. I told him there was no such place as Little Britain, and that no Englishman could conceive of Britain being anything but great. "Yes," he replied, "your sovereign is the Empress Victoria; she also reigns gloriously over 50,000,000 Mussulmans in India."

When Ivan the Terrible conquered the Tartar Kingdom, the work of converting the Mohammedan population was seriously taken in hand, and at first with great success. When once their military power of resistance was crushed, the Tartars were treated with the greatest humanity and mildness; while the first Bishop, St. Juri, was all that a missionary Bishop should be, combining zeal and saintliness of life with an intelligent knowledge of the requirements of his diocese. The conditions at that time were extremely favourable to an easy acceptance of the faith. The Khanate of Kazan consisted of a mixed population. While the dominant race, the Tartars, as also the Chuvásh, were of Turkish origin, and were already, as well as the Bulgarian population, fairly confirmed

Mohammedans, the district, after all, contained but little real Mongolian blood. The aboriginal Finnish tribes of the district, such as the Mordvà, the Cheremíssy, and the Votiakì, were still heathens, adhering more or less, as many of them do to this day, to the Shamanism of their race, and even when they nominally accepted Mohammedanism, they often only did so in the sense of incorporating some of its characteristics into their former religion. Hence, at the time of the conquest of Kazan, just when their old religion was beginning to break up, it was everything that Christianity should get the start of Mohammedanism with them. And at first both Bishop Juri and his successor, St. Germanus, were most successful, and numbers were won over to Christianity. But evil times were coming upon Russia. The later years of Ivan the Terrible's reign did not fulfil the promise of its beginning. Resembling in many ways our Henry VIII, while taking at all times a deep interest in the religious affairs of his country, he latterly came to give himself up to every form of vice and cruelty. St. Germanus was sent for to Moscow to attend the Synod which the tyrant had summoned in order to depose the Metropolitan St. Philip, of Moscow, who had ventured to rebuke him for his excesses, and, being one of those Bishops who bravely dared to refuse his consent to this iniquitous act, was thrown into prison and never returned to his diocese alive. He was said at the time to have died a natural death, and his remains were sent back to the great monastery at Svjazhsk, of which he had been the first Abbot, but a recent examination of his relics, revealing unmistakable marks of the axe on his neck and jaw-bone, point to a more violent and glorious end. There he now lies in his silver shrine in the great abbey church. When I went last year with a letter from the church authorities to visit the monastery, a young Russian, who was just going to be ordained, and intends to devote his life to missionary work amongst the Mohammedans, asked me to allow him and his mother to accompany me to pray at this grave, which is so intimately connected with what is to be his work in life. I asked the Abbot to have one of the popular services known as the

molebens for the boy; and, accordingly, the Abbot took us from his lodgings across the peaceful monastery-yard under the shade of its trees, in which the rooks were at that time building, and which had just burst out into their summer foliage, into the splendid old church, built by the saint himself, and full of frescoes, icons, and exquisite silver and gold work of the Russian sixteenth-century style; and there, before the open shrine, with the book of the Gospels held by a deacon over the boy's and his mother's heads, one of the priests of the monastery read the Gospel for a confessor Bishop, beginning, "I am the Good Shepherd; the Good Shepherd giveth His life for the sheep," the Abbot standing by our side, while a few peasants in the church, some of them with unmistakably Tartar faces, joined in the responses made by the choir. I think that if Englishmen understood the exact bearings of this feature in the popular religious life in Russia, of the importance of which, both from a religious and national point of view, I am more and more convinced every time that I travel in the country, they would be less inclined to carp and find fault with the reverence which the Russians pay to the resting-places of their saints. A more apposite way for a poor student to enter upon his missionary career could hardly be imagined.

But to return to the religious history of the Tartars and other tribes of these parts. After the death of St. Germanus little more was done in the way of Christianising them. The extinction of the house of Ruric, and the troubles which ensued, the Polish invasions, and the deposition of the Patriarch Nicon, were none of them favourable to missionary enterprise; still less the period of religious indifference which followed upon the reforms of Peter the Great, and which closely resembled that of the rest of the Europe of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile the Mohammedans had not been idle. The Mullahs had strengthened their hold upon the Tartar population, and were carrying on an active and generally successful propaganda, not only amongst the heathen tribes of this district, but also against the lately Christianised Tartars, whose hold upon Christianity, so soon as Christian missionary zeal diminished,

was not sufficiently strong to enable them to withstand it. There are to this day a large number—even whole villages—of "fallen-aways," as the Mohammedan Tartars whose ancestors once were Christians are called. It was not until after the Crimean war, when, together with the general awakening of those times, the Church of Russia entered upon a new period of energy and life which can only be compared to that which in our own country has grown out of the Oxford movement, that much was done either towards saving those who were still nominally Christians, or in converting the professed Mohammedans.

This movement naturally started from Kazan, where there is not only a university famous for its learning in the way of oriental languages, but also an ecclesiastical academy which is the centre from which all the mission work of the Asiatic and Eastern European districts of the empire starts. The soul of the movement was Nicholas Iljmínski, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Kazan, a man of portentous learning in the languages and dialects of all the races of this part of the empire, whether Finnish or Turkish in origin, and one of those many devout and enthusiastic laymen of which the Russian Church, perhaps more than any other Church in Christendom, has such good cause to be proud. He came to the conclusion that the only hope of dealing with the situation, and of counteracting the influence of the Mullahs, was to create a native Orthodox priesthood in each tribe, and to translate the Scriptures, services, and books of instruction into a form which would make them perfectly intelligible to the people as contrasted with the Mohammedan Arabic forms used by the former. He accordingly first set to work to construct an alphabet, and, following the example of St. Stephen of Perm, who as early as the fourteenth century had done the same thing for the Zyrianian tribes in the forests of the north-east of European Russia, he used the Russian alphabet as far as it would go to express the various sounds, and for the rest used modifications of the Russian letters. During the last thirty years some five hundred religious books of various

kinds—gospels, psalters, and other service-books, catechisms, lives of saints, etc.—have thus been printed in the local vernaculars. The method which he adopted in translating I shall explain further on.

There is at Kazan, in addition to the ordinary diocesan seminary for Russians training for the priesthood, a special seminary, started by Iljminski, for the training of the native clergy and for the missionaries that are to work amongst them. They are, of course, taught Russian and Slavonic. Mr. Bobrovnikoff, the present able and energetic director, took me to hear the students sing the Liturgy. Although one had simply to look at them to see that they belonged to different Mongolian and Finnish tribes, they sang the Liturgy throughout in Slavonic; it was only at the priest's Communion that they divided themselves up into five groups, each belonging to a different tribe, and sang St. John Damascene's great Easter canon,

> The Day of Resurrection,
> Earth, tell it out abroad!

each division taking a verse in turn in its own language, except at the *Gloria Patri* at the end of each of the eight odes, which, with the Easter Troparion following it, was sung by all five groups together in Slavonic.

But even more interesting than this seminary is the Tartar school for boys and girls founded by Iljminski at Kazan in order to train school masters and mistresses for the Church schools which have lately been started all over this part of Russia. The pupils are selected from the best in the parish schools. When I was there there were rather over two hundred children in all. The course lasts four years, and those of each year are instructed together in separate classrooms. Father Vassíli Timoféeff, who has charge of this school, is himself a Tartar and a convert to Christianity. He was very anxious that I should examine the children in Russian, which I did, as far as my own knowledge of the language permitted, for I found that by the end of their second year they were better at it than I was, although to the end of their lives they have a difficulty in distinguishing between "he, she, and it," in-

asmuch as their own language has no genders, not even in the pronouns. Great pains are taken with their church singing, and I found that they could sing by heart the Troparion for almost any feast I liked to mention, both in Tartar and in Russian. The Troparion for the day represents very much what the Collect for the day is to our services.

I had the good fortune to be at Kazan just before the boys left for their summer holidays; and so the following week Father Vassíli Timoféeff offered to take me a short tour amongst the Tartar villages in the Government of Kazan, between the Volga and the Kama. We started on a Saturday morning. The population the first part of the way was entirely Russian, but after driving some eighteen miles we arrived at the first Tartar villages. We stopped to rest at midday at a village composed partly of Russians and partly of Tartars, and with both a church and a mosque. In spite of the division of race and religion, they seemed to live very amicably, and I was told that the *mir*, or village commune, consisted of both elements. I found that here they all knew Russian. After this the country was almost purely Tartar. We spent the night at the house of a Tartar priest, one of Father Vassíli's former pupils. A few years ago, except about forty Russians, there was not a Christian in the village. But a rich merchant in Kazan had built a church and schools, and when I was there there were ninety-two pupils in the school, while 350 adult Tartars had made their Easter Communion. The Sunday morning service, which was very long, lasting from five till past eleven, with only a short interval between Matins and the Liturgy, was beautifully sung, for the most part by the congregation in Tartar, although one side of the choir sang in Slavonic for the benefit of the few Russian inhabitants, while several parts of the Liturgy, including the Epistle, Gospel Creed, and Lord's Prayer, were read or sung in both languages, one after the other. After the priest's Communion, he preached a short sermon on the Gospel for the day in both languages, and then something over thirty children of various ages under seven received Communion. The service ended

by a distribution of the *antidoron*, which is the first food taken. I never saw, even in Russia, a more devout congregation, and it is quite difficult to realise that thirty years ago there was not a Christian in the village.

The afternoon we spent driving through numerous villages, some Christian, others Mohammedan. The mission work generally begins with the foundation of a school; wherever a school is started a community of Christians is sure to form itself, more especially amongst the Tartar villages which have formerly been Christian. Apart from the mosques, with their white minarets, with green extinguisher-shaped tops, one can always tell a Mohammedan village at once from the people's less clean and prosperous appearance, the absence of women in the village street, and the shyness of the children. Besides which my companion was evidently well known and loved in all the Christian villages. As the sun began to set we came to a forest some nine miles across, full of splendid oaks, firs, birch, etc. When we emerged from it we were on a high bit of ground, in sight of Father Vassili's native village, though still some way off. During the last part of the journey he told me the history of his life. The village, which had originally in the sixteenth century become Christian, but which had fallen away, was in his youth either without religion or else Mohammedan. He himself was the son of a Tartar peasant, and his father knew nothing of Christianity. As a boy he had made friends with a pious Orthodox Russian woman in a neighbouring village, who was in the habit of going on pilgrimages to the various holy places in Russia; and, having learnt to read Russian, he used to borrow the religious books of various kinds that she had brought back from the monasteries which she had visited. Little by little the truths of Christianity came home to him, and at last he himself resolved to take monastic vows, and entered the Ivanoffski Monastery at Kazan as a lay Brother, and would have taken the full vows had he not been obliged first to serve his time in the army. This was in 1861. While at the Ivanoffski Monastery he made the acquaintance of Professor Iljmínski, of

whom I have already spoken. After his military service he no longer felt a vocation for the monastic life, but returned to his native village, married a Christian Tartar woman living in the neighbourhood, and pursued the unenviable profession of tax-collector. Notwithstanding, he began to teach Christianity and the Russian language to two or three boys in the village on his own account. During this period Iljminski came to him one summer with his first translations into the Tartar language, and these he helped him to correct and to render into an idiom entirely intelligible to the common people. This work contained many of the commonest parts of the Church services, instructions in reading and in the use of the new alphabet, selections from the Gospels, the Little Catechism, etc. In the winter it was printed, and to Vassíli's joy, 300 copies were sent to him, which he distributed amongst his friends and acquaintances. He then returned to Kazan in the hopes of getting some employment more to his taste than tax-collecting. The Ivanoffski Monastery could not help him, and at last he gladly accepted the post of bell-ringer in the convent of the Kazan Mother of God. But Iljminski did not forget him, and on realising his scheme with regard to starting the study and teaching of the dialects of the neighbouring tribes in the ecclesiastical academy, he obtained for him the place of Professor of the Tartar language. The jump from bell-ringer to professor was a great one; but Vassíli proved himself worthy of Iljminski's trust in him. Three of his former village companions begged to be allowed to come and live with him, and continue their instruction in Christianity under him. This he consented to, and these three turned out to be the beginning of his admirable school, which I have already described. After their summer holidays they brought back twelve more boys from the village, whom he also took in and instructed in Christianity. It was just about this time (1867) that he was ordained priest. The results of his work thus began may now be seen far and wide in this part of Russia. Sixty-five native Tartar priests all received their first training in his school, while it has provided the teachers, male

and female, for 150 native schools, of which sixty are in the Government of Kazan. As far as his native village is concerned, there are now only two houses in it which have not accepted Christianity. He ended his story by saying: "You shall see what Nikolai Ivanovich [Iljmínski] and Konstantin Petróvich [Pobiedonostzeff, now Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, who has taken the deepest interest in the movement from its very beginning] have done in thirty years; and what may it not, by God's blessing, grow to be in another thirty years?"

We arrived at the village at about half-past eight, just after sunset. The greetings, which had been growing more and more demonstrative in the various villages as we got nearer Father Vassíli's home, became a positive ovation when we got there. As we drove through the streets the whole population turned out and followed us to his former home, a wooden cottage, where his brother Jacob now lives with his wife, sons, and grandchildren. A rumour had reached them that he might be soon coming, and now he had turned up on the eve of the Translation of St. Nicholas (to Bari), which, as the nearest church, some three miles off, is dedicated to that saint, was a great festival with them. No sooner had we got down from our tarantass than the people begged him to have the "All-night vigil," that is to say the service of Vespers and Matins combined which is sung on Saturdays and eves of great festivals in the Eastern Church. There being as yet no church in the village, we started off to the school, but finding the room there already too full to admit of all who wished to take part in the service, Father Vassíli said he would hold it in the open air. The icons of the Resurrection (it being Eastertide) and St. Nicholas were brought out, and placed on a *naloi*, or sloping desk, with lighted candles in front, on a large plot of grass in the middle of the village, with one of the usual small square tables vested in coarse brocade in front, upon which was placed the book of the Gospels and the cross, and then the service began, the children from the school, boys on the right and girls on the left, acting as the choir. It was one of

the most exquisite sights I have ever witnessed; at least 400 Tartar peasants, the women all in their bright colours and elaborate head-dresses covered with silver ornaments, the picturesque wooden cottages interspersed with the *cherjómukha*, a flowering tree, about the size of an elder, which grows in these parts, the sweet scent of which vied with the still sweeter fumes of incense, all in the quiet twilight of a beautiful clear evening in May, combined to produce an impression which can never fade from memory. The vespers began with the Easter Troparion, "Christ is risen," etc., sung in Tartar and Russian; then the children sung the Procemiac Psalm (civ.) in Slavonic, accompanied by the usual censing and one or two of the *Ektenai*, or short Litanies, were also sung in that language, as I afterwards discovered, for my special benefit; while the rest of Vespers, including the antiphon of the first Cathism, Psalms i.-viii., the "Lord I have cried" (Psalms cxlii., cxliii., cxxx., and cxvii.), with its *stichera*, and the "Hail, gladdening Light," were all sung in Tartar by the whole congregation. After the Gospel at matins Father Vassíli explained it to us in a few extempore words, first in Tartar and then in Russian, and again at the end told us about St. Nicholas and his life in both languages. It was too dark to read the Canon of St. Nicholas, so instead of it they all sang the Canon of Easter, "The Day of Resurrection," which every Orthodox Christian in Russia knows by heart, and which, although sung in Tartar, of which I could not understand a word, I could follow perfectly by means of the melody to which it was set, which was the same as that to which it is sung in Slavonic. At about ten o'clock the moon rose, so that *Magnificat*, Psalms cxlviii.-cl., with their proper Troparia, and *Gloria in Excelsis*, with which the Eastern Matins conclude, were sung without difficulty. The service was over soon after half-past ten, after which followed more greetings. The evening was brought to an end soon after eleven by Father Vassíli collecting the children in the school and all singing the hymn to the Holy Spirit, "O Heavenly King, the Comforter," in Tartar. Thus ended my first day in the Christian Tartar

villages in Eastern Russia. I could add other experiences of the same kind, but I think that what I have said will be sufficient to show that a very great and real work is here being done amongst the Mohammedans, and that, so far from being an artificial or political scheme forced upon the population by the secular Government, it is a natural and spontaneous religious movement originated and carried forward by the zeal and piety of individual members of the Orthodox Russian Church in close connection with her best traditions inherited from the past. I have already mentioned how the Mohammedan *mullah* reminded me of the 50,000,000 Mussulmans under British rule in India. Is not this fact in itself a reason for us Englishmen to take a deep interest in this work of the Russian Church, and to rejoice with her at the victories which her missionaries are winning for the Cross of Christ?

CHAPTER XVII.

THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL CHURCH.[1]

In speaking of the idea of a National Church to-day, I intend, as I am quite sure is expected of me, to devote myself to views held upon this subject in the Holy Eastern Church, and to illustrate them more especially from the Church of Russia, which is by far the greatest of Orthodox, as well as of all National, Churches at the present day.

The Russian Church is undoubtedly by far the most conspicuous example which exists of the realisation of the idea which is the subject of our discussion—that is to say, of the double-sided character which of necessity belongs to a Church which is at once National and Catholic. That the Russian Church is a National Church I need not stop to prove. None that have read the newspapers this year can doubt of this for a moment. And that she is part of the Catholic Church is equally clear, and this not to her own children only, nor even merely to the members of the other National Churches which are in full communion with her. Her foes, indeed, may deny that she is Catholic, but then these consist either of those who deny the right of National Churches to exist, or else of those who have thrown away the belief in the existence of any Catholic Church at all. That the English Church is not to be counted amongst these has been shown to the world in an unmistakable manner during the solemnities that took place in Russia last spring.

These two elements, the National and the Catholic, permeate the whole being of the Russian Church. Indeed, it is upon

[1] This paper was read at the Church Congress, Shrewsbury, 1896.—[A.R.]

this fact that her unity essentially depends. Such a statement may at first seem to be a paradox, and naturally gives rise to the question whether the National and Catholic elements in the Russian Church do not of necessity involve a contradiction, and whether it is possible for the one to be fully and freely developed without absorbing the other. The interminable antagonisms between Church and State which have characterised the history of all the countries of Western Europe inevitably suggest some such suspicion to every Western: and, inasmuch as he probably knows little of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Russian Empire, whereas political considerations can never allow her existence as a nation to be forgotten, he naturally believes those who tell him that in the Russian Church the Catholic element is swallowed up in the National, and accordingly he joins with them in describing her as a Cæsaro-Papalism, or Church governed by the Emperor as its supreme head, in the same sense that the Pope is the head of the Latin Communion. As a matter of fact, nothing can be further from the truth. In the Russian Church there is no contradiction between its National and Catholic elements, nor does either of them absorb the other. And the reason of this is that in agreement with the fundamental principles of the Orthodox Church, based upon the Divine command "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," the National is, indeed, subordinated to the Catholic element, but this without the latter in the least limiting the legitimate freedom of the National element.

For it must be remembered that the Russian Church does not claim to be the whole Catholic Church, but only a part of it. She teaches that the Catholic Church is the assembly of the faithful of all nations under the headship of Christ, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and for the Church as thus understood she claims the gift of infallibility, as properly belonging, not to the hierarchy, still less to any one member of it, but to the whole Body of Christ, including, not only that part of it which is now upon earth, but also both that which is at rest and that which is yet to be born. Nevertheless, that

part of the Catholic Church which is militant here upon earth can likewise claim to be infallible, inasmuch as according to the Divine promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her, the Church upon earth can never be separated from the whole body or from its Divine head. A Russian writer[1] has pointed out that this conception of the infallibility of the Church imposes no undue strain upon the intelligence, for although the infallibility of the Church is justly considered to be miraculous, it belongs to that order of the miraculous which of necessity manifests itself wherever the immediate working of Divine Providence is perceived. Thus, although historians may err —and, indeed, they have erred—history itself is infallible; for if it could err it would cease to be history, and would become fable; and the infallibility of the Church is the same in kind, only differing from it inasmuch as in it Divine Providence is manifested in a more direct and immediate manner. And this infallibility expresses itself in everything that constitutes the voice of the whole Church, and, consequently, its clearest and most definite form is to be seen in the decrees of Œcumenical councils. But the power to assemble a council which shall be certainly Œcumenical does not reside in any secular prince, or in any individual patriarch, nor, indeed, in any authority in its separate capacity; for only that council will become truly Œcumenical which is confirmed as such by Divine Providence itself; and inasmuch as there are no outward signs by means of which such a character can be *a priori* assigned to it, only those councils have a right to be so reckoned which have been acknowledged as such by the conscious recognition of the whole Church—that is to say, which have been ratified by the Divine Head of the Church Himself, and by the Holy Spirit through the medium of the whole Church.

This, then, is the Orthodox view of the Catholic Church and of its means of expressing its own infallibility, which it was necessary to enlarge upon in order to show clearly my

[1] Danileffski; the following passage down to the end of the paragraph is taken almost word for word from his *Russia and Europe*, p. 229.

meaning when I said that in the Church of Russia the National element is subordinated to the Catholic element. The Eastern Church, which, from her point of view, now that the West has fallen away, is the whole Catholic Church upon earth, consists at the present day of a number of National Churches, such as the four Eastern Patriarchates and the autocephalous Churches of Russia, Greece, Roumania, Servia, etc., all of which are in full communion with one another. And whilst these, or at least some of them, have their recognised order of precedence *jure ecclesiastico*, they are nevertheless equal and independent in so far as no single one of them has any immediate jurisdiction over another, nor the right to interfere in its national affairs; but for the settlement of any matter vitally affecting the doctrine, discipline, or constitution of the whole Church, each one of them is subject to the authority of all in their collective capacity, whether when represented in a General Council, or, if this is impossible or unnecessary, when consulted in some other manner. Russian history provides two extremely good object-lessons with regard to this point. In the sixteenth century the increased importance of the Russian Empire suggested the advisability of the promotion of the Metropolitical See of Moscow to the rank of a Patriarchate. The initiative was taken by the Tzar, but for a change of such importance, in the polity of the Orthodox Church, it was necessary, upon Catholic principles, to obtain the consent of the other then existing Orthodox Churches, in the person of the four Patriarchs. In the same way, when Peter the Great wished to substitute the Holy Synod for the Patriarchate, he obtained the sanction of the Eastern Patriarchs in a document which is to this day to be seen in the building at St. Petersburg in which the Holy Synod meets, declaring its constitution to be in accord with the principles of the Church. A similar recognition was obtained for the creation of the Holy Synod of Greece, and for that of each of the other Orthodox nationalities as they freed themselves from the Turkish yoke.

So much for the Catholic side of the Russian and other

Orthodox Eastern Churches. We must now turn to their National side. We have already seen that this is subordinated to the Catholic side; but it is more than this. Each National Church is in herself the bearer and exponent of Catholic doctrine, and accordingly in an Œcumenical Council her spiritual representatives, the bishops, appear as witnesses of the Catholic faith, and assist in its definition. Accordingly a National Church, in order to remain faithful to the cause of the Catholic truth, must make it her aim and object to decide all national and local questions in a manner which strictly corresponds to the spirit of the whole Catholic Church. But this is the sole limit which is placed upon the freedom of the Orthodox National Churches. In local matters, for instance of language, or rites and ceremonies, they are free. Each one of them is free both to preach the faith and to worship God in whatever language she may deem most edifying to her children; while with regard to rites and ceremonies, so long as nothing is introduced which affects the dogma of the whole Church, or causes scandal to the faithful, she will be allowed an equally wide latitude. But it is in matters of internal organisation that this freedom of local Churches is most conspicuously manifested.

It is obvious that, under a Christian autocracy like Russia, a Constitutional Government like that of Greece and some other Orthodox States, and an infidel Government like that of Turkey, the interests of the Church must suggest different forms of ecclesiastical organisation. I shall not stop to show how the problem has been worked out in the last two cases, I shall only say that in every case the National Church has succeeded in doing so in correspondence with the canonical and universal law of the Church. I shall confine myself to Russia, whose Government has inherited the original autocratic model brought over from Byzantium. All these relations are now concentrated in the Tzar, to whose position the idea of Cæsaro-Papalism is, as we have already seen, ascribed by candid friends in the West. But for Easterns, brought up in the traditions of their own Church, a Cæsaro-Papalism is a thing quite inconceivable.

The Tzar is merely the representative of the secular side of the National Church, and that, moreover, only in so far as he remains a faithful exponent of the faith of the Catholic Church. This idea is clearly expressed in the coronation service, when, before he is crowned, in answer to the question, "What is thy belief?" he recites the Creed of the Catholic Church. If he betrays the faith of the *Catholic* Church, he thereby ceases to represent the faith of the *National* Church, and should he try to force heresy upon her, she will reject it, for otherwise she would cease to be the Church. If he cannot be shown from the history of the Russian Church—for none of the Russian Emperors have ever attempted to force heresy upon her—the history of the Byzantine Church affords numerous proofs of this. Under the persecutions of the Monothelite and Iconoclast Emperors the Church remained no less free than she did under the persecutions of Nero and Diocletian, and this even at times when her Patriarchs proved unfaithful. Had certain claims of which we nowadays hear a great deal been acknowledged in the fourth century, it would have gone hard with the Catholic Church when Constantine forced Pope Liberius to acknowledge the *semi*-Arian Creed, and separate himself from St. Athanasius; but when the Byzantine Emperors forced the Patriarchs to join in the Iconoclastic persecution, the result was that while Emperor and Patriarch *ipso facto* excluded themselves from the Church, by an abundant harvest of martyrdoms she only acquired fresh strength. But what if, not the Emperor, but the head of the national hierarchy, prove false to the Orthodox cause? Then it will be the duty of the Sovereign, as the representative of the National Church, to undertake her defence. Russian history provides us with an example of this in the case of the Metropolitan Isidore of Moscow, who betrayed the Orthodox cause by accepting the decrees of the Council of Florence. The Grand Duke Vassili the Blind summoned a council of bishops to investigate the case, and he was by them deposed. This is an example of an Orthodox sovereign, as representative of an Orthodox nation, defending the Orthodox faith; and in this he acted exactly as

did the Byzantine Emperors who summoned the Seven Councils which the Church has acknowledged as Œcumenical.

Again, the exact relation of the Emperor to the Russian Church is illustrated by the position of the chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, who represents the Emperor there. All questions of a mixed nature between the secular and spiritual authorities pass through him. But upon purely spiritual matters, though he may be present when they are discussed, he has no vote, nor even the right to speak. Is this Cæsaro-Papalism?

To conclude: for us Westerns it is somewhat difficult to grasp the position which the person of the Tzar occupies in Russia, which nevertheless seems so reasonable and natural, not only to Russians, but to all other members of the Orthodox Church. They in their turn are so entirely permeated with the idea that mutual relationship between the National and Catholic elements in the Church ought to be neither that of tyrant and slave, nor that of cat and dog, but that of a *mens sana in corpore sano*, that they can only look upon the present condition of things in the West, or at least in the greater part of it, as an abnormal state of affairs. According to their view, the local national spirit of Rome, under the auspices of Charlemagne, unrighteously arrogated to itself a claim to be recognised as the whole Catholic Church, and proceeded to fasten this claim upon the other National Churches of the West. But as time went on, and local national consciousness developed, some of these Churches recognised the unjustifiable and arbitrary nature of these claims and threw them aside, and attempted in their local nationalism to rediscover a primitive form of Christianity, and to formulate it by means of local councils, which, however, made no claim to infallibility, and consequently were merely illogical, half-way houses to that complete individualism which at the present day is gradually devouring the Protestant Churches and sects of the West; while in the Latin countries the same principle is making its way under the specious cry of "a free Church in a free State," which is only another word for the total destruction

of National Christianity. This is the Eastern view of Western Christendom. A very slight acquaintance with Russian theological writings would cause considerable surprise to the gentleman who wrote a short time ago to *The Times* to say that the Russian Church recommended the English Church to make its submission to the Patriarch of the West.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORTHODOX EASTERN CHURCH TOWARDS CERTAIN CONTROVERSIES AMONGST US IN THE WEST.[1]

It is the good fortune of English Churchmen to be able to regard the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church from a standpoint entirely different to that from which it is regarded by any other Western community of Christians. Rome, by the logic of the position which she has assumed, can only look upon the East as an obstinate rebel; she is obliged to believe, or at least to pretend to believe, that the Greek and Russian Churches are in heresy as well as in schism, and consequently she has to deny that, in the strict sense of the term, they are Churches at all. As for the various Protestant sects, having abandoned the very notion of their being any Catholic Church, they can only look upon Orthodoxy as a sort of fossilised variant of Popery, interesting, perhaps, from an anthropological point of view, but of no practical concern to themselves.

Very different is the view which, happily, we are able to take of the Holy Eastern Church. With whatever feelings we may look back upon that mixture of good and evil, known to history as the English Reformation, I think that every one will admit that the new attitude which that movement enabled the English Church to assume towards Eastern Christendom was indisputably a change for the better, and that we can all agree that one of the very best results of the Reformation was the recognition of the Orthodox Churches of the East as constituting true portions of the one Holy Catholic Church of Christ.

[1] An address delivered before the West London District Union of the English Church Union, 1898.—[A.R.]

Now it is quite true that this change was not brought about formally. As was lately pointed out by the Bishop of London, it has never been the habit of the English Church very definitely to formulate her relations towards other portions of the Catholic Church; and certainly amongst the historical records of the Reformation we find no act in which the authorities of the English Church refused any longer to be bound by Leo IX.'s unjust and iniquitous excommunication of the Patriarch Cerularius, through which East and West had in the eleventh century finally been separated. No attempt was made by the English Reformers to enter into friendly relations with the ancient Patriarchates; still less was the question of intercommunion mooted. Nothing formal was done in the matter. Personally, I cannot say that, things being as they were, I think that there is any reason to regret this. History provides us with an eloquent warning as to what may result from premature efforts in this direction. Towards the end of the sixteenth century certain Lutheran divines in Germany entered into correspondence with the Patriarch Jeremias of Constantinople, with a view to establishing intercommunion between the German Protestants and the Greeks. The correspondence extended over seven years, and consisted of three letters on each side, which are in every way most instructive. They dealt with nearly all the burning points of the Reformation, and it is abundantly clear that both sides were actuated by an honest desire to remove obstacles to unity. But while the Lutherans, who had been brought up in Western habits of thought, argued against the Easterns just as they had been used to do against the Papists, one can see at once that in their replies the Easterns are not in reality approaching the matters in question from a Western point of view at all.

It was not till the seventeenth century that the Easterns began seriously to study Latin theology or to borrow its terms, and, consequently throughout the whole of this controversy the Lutherans and Greeks were speaking to one another at cross purposes, and, as it were, in different languages. The

result was what was only to be expected. Of course, the Easterns got much the best of it from a controversial point of view—it was a regular case of pot and kettle meeting in the stream. But if, after each collision, the pot separated from its companion with wider cracks and deeper chips, it is undeniable that a considerable amount of temperature was developed by the process in the kettle. As the controversy proceeds, the pious aspirations for Christian unity, which are so prominent in its earlier portions, tend more and more to fall into the background, the expressions concerning Christian love and charity become more and more conventional, and the blows harder and harder. Let me read the ending of the last letter of the Patriarch to the Lutherans. After dealing once more at some length—the letter in the Russian translation occupies thirty-five pages—with the questions of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, of Free Will, of the Sacraments, and of the Invocation of Saints, the letter ends as follows :—

"In conclusion we beg you not to bother us any more, nor either to write or send to us upon this subject, so long as you give a wrong interpretation to the luminaries and theologians of the Church, whom, although you may honour and exalt in word, in actual deed you reject, and prove that our weapons—namely, their Holy and Divine words, by the aid of which we might still write and confute you—are of no avail. So, on your part, save us from further annoyance. Go your own way, and in future do not write to us about dogmas, but only about friendship, if you have a mind to it. Farewell."

Now, I will not say that a correspondence between the Greeks and the English Reformers need have been nearly so hopeless as this with the Lutherans, but at the same time I cannot think that the final result at that time would have been very different. He would be a bold man who would say that even yet the time has come to enter upon formal negotiations with the Easterns; it is quite certain that in the sixteenth century such a course would have led to nothing but disaster. As a matter of fact, the change of attitude, which I have already mentioned, of the English Church towards the East, was

brought about, just like certain other fruitful and enduring changes which have at various times come to pass in the English Church, not by any definite or formal act, but silently, almost imperceptibly, by means of the logic of facts, and by the practically felt requirements of the Anglican position. Directly the claims of the Papacy to universal dominion had been repudiated, and the right of national Churches to exist within the Catholic Church, and at the same time to manage their own affairs, had been asserted, the condemnation of the East by the West *ipso facto* fell to the ground, and the English Church turned her back for ever upon the crime which the Popes had committed in excommunicating their Eastern brethren.

The immediate results of this change of attitude were, it is true, small; they were almost confined to the resumption of the old practice of borrowing from the Eastern service books—a practice once so common in the West, but which had been entirely interrupted by the great schism. As to its full results, these certainly remain yet to be seen. Whilst we believe the Orthodox East to be a true portion of the Catholic Church, to which we ourselves also belong, the outward realisation of the fact that we are members of the same body is as yet very far from having been accomplished. But it is a significant fact, which cannot be denied, that since the time of the Reformation the Holy Eastern Church has possessed an ever-increasing attraction for English churchmen, and that the stages in the growth of this attraction correspond pretty accurately with periods of special growth and activity in the English Church herself. And this fact I believe to be the surest sign that reunion will come to pass in the future. A well-known historian of the English Reformation has observed that the English Church was at first inclined to move in a Lutheran direction—that is to say, before she knew much about it, but that the more she got to see and know of Lutheranism the less she liked it—a clear proof that the two religious systems are essentially alien from and repugnant to one another. Emphatically the contrary has been the case as far as the Holy

Eastern Church is concerned. The writings of those of the Caroline Fathers who studied her; the appeal of the Nonjurors to the East, which might have led to so much had Peter the Great lived a little longer; the large number of Eastern hymns which are to be found in our hymnals; the use of prayers from the Eastern Offices for the dead in such important and representative churches as the Queen's Private Chapel, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and St. Paul's Cathedral; the mutual interchange of visits between English and Orthodox ecclesiastical dignitaries which have taken place of later years, all tend in the same direction, and show which way the tide is running. I believe that these methods are the very best way of promoting the cause of unity.

Both sides must get to know each other much better before there can be any use in entering into formal negotiations for reunion. And as far as the English Church is concerned, it is really her duty, as well as her interest, not only to get to know more of the Easterns, but to allow herself really to be influenced by them. It has hitherto been far too common, when any burning question arises, to ignore the East altogether except when, and just in so far as, she can be used as a weapon of defence or offence against Rome. Very little pains have been taken to ascertain her real attitude towards the questions in debate, still less to be influenced and guided by it. My attention has very often been called to this fact by friends in Russia. In the East, if any important question arises in one of the Patriarchates or autocephalous Churches, before the matter is finally settled, the opinion of all the other Orthodox Churches is at least ascertained. And this is because they fully realise that they are all members of one body, and that the eye cannot do without the hand. If the English Church is to make the best of her position she will assuredly not rest content until this truth is fully recognised and acted upon. If we really believe the Orthodox Church to be an integral part of the Catholic Church, how is it possible for us to settle any question without at least ascertaining what is her real attitude towards it? As it is, our custom as a rule is quite otherwise.

Some of us sometimes want to attack Rome. Of course, there is plenty of material for this to be found in the East, and we freely avail ourselves of it, so far as it suits our purpose. But then perhaps some of us want to defend some modern Roman development. What do we do then? We either ignore the East altogether, or else, together with the Romans, try to twist Eastern language into agreeing with the novelty in question. Again, some of us wish to defend prayers for the dead—and here we run with open arms to the East. But if we wish to condemn invocation of saints, then, of course, we shut our eyes, and do not even take the trouble to inquire whether the Easterns approach the question from exactly the same point of view as do the Latins.

Another time perhaps our Protestantism takes a rather more extreme form than the mere rejection of the invocation of the saints, and the same process is continued. Dean Stanley's work on the Eastern Church is full of instances of this. For instance, against "sacerdotalism" he quotes a passage from a Russian theologian upon Confirmation. I was amused last summer to notice that he had led Archdeacon Sinclair[1] into the same exquisite mare's nest. The passage is: "It (that is to say, the Sacrament of Chrism) testifies against the Roman, inasmuch as it annihilates the wall of separation which Rome has erected between the ecclesiastic and the layman; for we are all priests of the Most High, though in different degrees." I may say in passing that one would hardly have thought Russia a very good place to find support for the Protestant view of the "royal priesthood" of the laity; and if it be remembered that the passage from the Apocalypse in Russian reads: "and hath made us Tzars and priests," I think that if he had asked a Russian layman if he considered himself a priest, he would have received the reply, Yes—that is to say, in the same sense that I consider myself a Tzar, which is rather a different thing from considering myself the Tzar! But to return to the passage from Khomiakoff. The passage in question, so far from being directed against sacerdotalism, is only part of a contest

[1] The Archdeacon of London at the time this address was given.—[A.R.]

in which the hierarchical principle is as strongly as possible asserted. Let us give some more passages from the same paragraph :—

"The right of laying on of hands in the sacramental sense does not belong to the faithful in general, it did not in the time of the Acts of the Apostles belong even to the preachers of the faith, however great their personal sanctity : it belonged only to the Apostles, just as later on it has never belonged to anyone but the Bishops. Its meaning therefore is evident. The man who had been received into the Church at baptism but was still isolated upon earth, was admitted into the community of the Church upon earth, and received his first ecclesiastical degree through the imposition of hands. . . . Confirmation, by introducing us into the bosom of the community or Church upon earth, makes us to be participators of the blessing of Pentecost. . . . We see, then, that the imposition of the Apostles' hands (that is to say, the Holy Chrism of the Church) witnesses against the Protestant in proving to us the importance of the Church upon earth in the designs of God, and it bears witness against the Roman, inasmuch as it annihilates the wall of separation which Rome has erected between the ecclesiastic and the layman : for we are all priests of the Most High, though in different degrees."

It is quite obvious that the writer is merely stating that the Sacrament of Chrism is the communication of the gift of Pentecost, which was not confined to the Apostles, but included the laity, and even women ; and he is bringing it into connection with the doctrine of the Eastern Church, which, just a little before the time he was writing, had been so well set forth by the Eastern Patriarchs in their reply to Pius IX, when they stated that his Holiness was mistaken in imagining that the custody of the Catholic Faith had been committed to any individual Bishop, or even to any hierarchical order, but rather to the whole body of the Church in virtue of its union with its Divine Head. For I may here say in passing that no Eastern could conceive of using such an expression as "going into the Church" as an equivalent of receiving Holy Orders,

neither, even if the Patriarch of Constantinople had possessed territories of his own over which he had exercised rights of sovereignty, would they, I am sure, ever have been called "The States of the Church"!

. . . . . .

The view of the Easterns is, not that the East and West, though temporarily divided owing to an unfortunate quarrel, are both of them true parts of the Catholic Church, but that the whole of the West has fallen away and is in heresy and schism. Now for a long time the Eastern theologians found it much easier to use hard words like heresy against the West than to describe exactly in what that heresy consisted. They felt themselves strong in their own position, with an absolutely unbroken tradition, while they watched the West, after her unity had been undermined by the rationalistic speculations of the mediæval schoolmen, break up into a number of contending sects.

They instinctively felt that the whole state of things there was due to some one great heresy; but they still found it difficult to put their fingers upon what exactly this heresy was. I cannot stop now to trace the process by which at length in the present century a genuine Orthodox school of theology arose in Russia, and very soon drove out of the field the previous two schools of theologians who had vainly endeavoured to found enduring schools of theology upon adaptations either of Roman or of Protestant systems of theology.

I will merely give the results at which they arrived. They recognised the fact that although the split had been caused by the addition of the words *Filioque*, or "and the Son," to the clause in the Nicene Creed which stated that the "Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father," it was impossible to say that the doctrine itself constituted the Western heresy. But it was nevertheless through this addition to the Creed that they traced the evil to its source. The Creed had been drawn up by a General Council, it had been accepted as the faith of Christendom by the whole Church. But now a local Church in the West had uncanonically introduced a new article of

Faith into the Creed, which gradually spread to other local Churches, and which, although for some time, in spite of Imperial pressure, resisted by the Popes, was at length accepted by Rome herself.

Now what the Russians say about this is that it was in itself a simple act of Protestantism. Such action on the part of a province of the Church differs nothing in kind from similar action on the part of single Bishops or, indeed, of private individuals. In whatever way we look at it, it certainly was a rejection of the authority of the Church. As they rightly point out, there was at first no attempt to defend the insertion of the new clause on purely Papal principles: indeed, the change was brought about in spite of strong Papal opposition. It was therefore either the assertion of the right of one province to alter the Creed in spite of the protests of the rest of the Church, or else it was the concession of the right of private judgment to individuals in order to work out their own dogmas; or, thirdly, it was the denial of the existence of any certainty in the faith at all. For if *Filioque* was in the Creed, it was obviously equally binding upon the conscience of every Catholic with the rest of the Creed; and, conversely, if *Filioque* was not binding upon the whole Church, none of the rest of the clauses of the Creed were. From every side at which you can regard the matter, it was an act of Protestantism. The right to decide dogmatic questions had found itself suddenly shifted. Up to now it had resided in the universality of the Church: it was now found to reside in a local Church. Some reason must be discovered for this. It must either be in consequence of the right of freedom of investigation to reject the living tradition of the Church, or else it must be in consequence of a monopoly of the Holy Spirit being granted within certain geographical limits. The former principle, which as a matter of fact had been acted upon, could not as yet be admitted as a right; men were still living too near to the ancient life of the Church.

The second idea was too vague, and, indeed, too monstrous for anyone to be able to maintain. The Papacy was then pre-

sented as the God out of the machine. The admission that a single see, and that the most ancient in all the West, and the most venerated in all the world, had a monopoly of inspiration, saved appearances, and was not so revolting to the human intelligence. It is true that a General Council had condemned a Pope for heresy, but this had happened a long while ago, and by this time everybody had forgotten about it.[1] Soon this new principle was generally accepted, and thus Western Protestantism sheltered itself under an external authority, a phenomenon that we constantly see repeated in political history. It could not be otherwise, for the authority of the Church had been rejected, the Divine Spirit had retired, and the reign of logic of a completely rationalistic character had come. The innovation of despotism had arrested the anarchy introduced by the previous innovation of the schism founded upon the independence of provincial opinion; but that anarchy would make itself felt hereafter.

This passage, which, with the exception of a few abbreviations, I have translated straight from Khomiakoff, shows the view that the Easterns really take of the whole question. The Western heresy is, in their eyes, a heresy against the teaching of the Church with respect to her own nature. Hitherto the Church upon earth had been infallible in virtue of her sanctity and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit within her as a part of the perfectly holy Body of Christ: now her infallibility was tied up with a throne which might be occupied by a man anything but holy. "The ordinary Christian individual was no longer a member of the Church—he was the Church's subject. He had no longer any part or share in her decisions. She and he were no longer one. He, while remaining in her bosom, was really outside her. An earthly state had taken the place of the Church of Christ. The unique and living law of unity in God had been replaced by all sorts of laws borrowed from

[1] Birkbeck refers to Pope Honorius (625-640), who unfortunately gave the wrong answer to an enquiry about our Lord's Divine and Human Wills. He was condemned by the Sixth Œcumenical Council in 681 and was numbered amongst the heresiarchs for many centuries in the service-books of the Roman Church.—[A.R.]

utilitarianism and juridical relationships. Rationalism developed itself under the form of authoritative decisions: inventing a purgatory in order to explain prayers for the dead; establishing a balance of duties and merits between God and man; taking the measure of sins and prayers, of faults and acts of expiation, sanctioning the exchange of so-called meritorious actions—in short, introducing into the sanctuary of the faith all the mechanism of a banking establishment." And so he continues: "I think now that it will be quite clear what the Easterns mean when they say that Rome and Protestantism are, in reality, only two sides of the same heresy; that Romanism is unity without liberty, and that Protestantism is liberty without unity; that while the unity of the Church is that of a living body, to the life of which every member contributes, whether he be living on earth, or be departed, or be yet unborn, the unity of Romanism is rather that of a brick wall, in which each individual is cemented to another by an arbitrary principle, but does not in the least contribute to the life of the others; while such unity as exists in Protestant communities is that of a number of grains of sand thrown together in a heap." In another place Khomiakoff amusingly describes the German Protestant's conception of the Church as "a society of good men, differing in all their opinions, but earnestly seeking for truth, with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it".

But to proceed. I think that if the Eastern view of the Church be worked out, and compared with that of the West, it will be found that all such questions as the communion of saints and prayers for the dead will be found to assume a somewhat different aspect. Khomiakoff, in one passage, points out that while the conclusions of the Romans and Protestants upon these points are always different, the ground upon which their premisses are based remains always the same—namely, that of rationalistic utilitarianism. "The Papacy says: 'The Church has always prayed for the dead, but these prayers would be useless if there were not an intermediate state, *therefore* purgatory exists'. The Reformation answers: 'There is no trace

of a purgatory in Holy Scripture or in the primitive Church, *therefore* it is useless to pray for the dead, and I shan't pray for them'. The Papacy says: 'The intercession of the saints has been invoked by the Church, *therefore* it is *useful; therefore* it completes the *merits* of prayer and of expiation'. The Reformation replies: 'Expiation by the Blood of Christ, accepted by faith in baptism and in prayer, is sufficient to redeem not only all mankind, but all possible wor ds, *therefore* the intercessions of the saints are useless, and we shan't ask them for them'. The sanctity of the communion of souls is alike unknown to each of the adversaries."

I have, as far as possible, given these ideas in the actual words of Russian writers. As far as my own experience goes, they correspond exactly with the general feeling of the Russian people upon these subjects. The Easterns, when they think of the Church, think much more of it as a whole than is the custom in the West. They like to quote St. John Chrysostom's words where he speaks of the body of Christ as the members of the Church living, departed, and yet to be born;[1] they not only state in theory, but they really feel that these all form one body, the body of Christ, relatively to man, indeed, fulfilling itself in time, but in the sight of God already existing in its completeness: its breath is the Holy Spirit of God, while the mutual intercession in Christ of individuals, every one of whom is needed by all the others, is its life-blood coursing through its members and quickening its being. One of the most solemn thoughts that I have met with in conversing with Russians is, that not only is each one of us assisted by the prayers of the Blessed Virgin and of all saints, but that the saints themselves, and even the glorious and ever-blessed Mother of God, were assisted by the prayers, foreknown to God, of every member of the Church that has lived or ever will live upon earth. And thus not only will they say of our Lady: "Thou art the salvation of the race of Christians," *σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν* (which is the same thing as the words of Irenæus, "obediens et sibi, et universo

[1] In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv., Homil. x. 1.—[A.R.]

generi humano causa facta est salutis"), but that at the moment when she answered, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord," and forthwith became the Mother of God, she was then being aided by every member of the Church who ever has said or ever will say "Thy kingdom come". And if I may here say a few words upon the doctrine of the communion of saints, I would point out that the Eastern invocations addressed to the saints in glory do not in reality differ in practice any more than they do in theory from requests for intercession addressed to individuals still living upon earth.

I will give an illustration to show this. At the end of the Eastern Offices of Tierce and Sext there is a prayer which at ordinary times the priest ends with the request that their requests may be granted "through the prayers of our holy Fathers". But if the Bishop happen to be present this ending is changed into "through the prayers of our Lord Bishop N."

There is one more matter upon which I should like to touch very briefly before I conclude. This is that the attitude of the Orthodox Church towards other Christian bodies is profoundly affected by liturgical considerations. With her the maxim *lex supplicandi, lex credendi*—the principle that the belief of the Church is best set forth in its public worship and prayers—is much more of a reality than it is in the West, where liturgical forms are far more meagre and bare. In the Eastern Church all the dogmas of the Church are set forth in the clearest way in the everyday services of the Church. The decisions of the six General Councils, in which the Catholic faith as to our Lord's Divinity and Incarnation were affirmed, are day by day set forth in the ever-varying series of *troparia*, known as *dogmatica;* the final assertion of the Church's right and duty to represent the doctrine of the Incarnation "in deed as well as in word"—that is to say, in the ceremonial of the Church and in ecclesiastical art, as well as in her written formularies, as laid down in the Seventh General Council, which regulated the veneration and censing not only of images, but of the altar, the book of the Gospels, and all other sacred objects, is daily set forth in the clearest manner in the ordinary

services of the Church; and all being read in a language understanded of the people, and surrounded with rich and solemn, but perfectly intelligible, ceremonial, the public services have become a part of the life of the people to an extent which it is difficult to realise in the West.

To apply this fact to the exigencies of the present day, I would say that as a matter of fact the Easterns in the views which they take of the English Church are much more influenced by what they actually find takes place in our services, than by all the learned works that have ever been written upon the subject of the Anglican position. Our ecclesiastical affairs are being watched extremely closely from Russia at the present time, and I may say, generally, if not quite always, with friendly eyes, but always with eyes which look to the main point. I believe that the whole question of the ultimate reunion between the East and us rests upon the principle *lex supplicandi, lex credendi*. Thus, for instance, the orthodoxy of the Catholic Revival upon the subject of the Eucharist was lately defended by one of our friends in Russia mainly on the ground that when he was in England, in certain churches, he found the Holy Sacrament reserved for the sick. With regard to another burning question, viz. incense, I remember ten years ago being asked by a monk at Kieff whether in the English Church incense was always used. In the Eastern Church there is no such thing as a Low Mass, and there is never a service, be it Mass, Vespers, or Matins, in which incense is not used, or in which the altar, the book of the Holy Gospels, and other sacred objects, and the members of the congregation, are not censed according to the universal practice of the whole Catholic Church. Only a few weeks ago an article appeared in the official journal of the Holy Synod complaining that the Old Catholics in Germany had abandoned the practice of censing the altar. "How," said the article, "can the Russian people ever recognise a Church as orthodox in which the altar is not censed according to the universal custom of the Church?"

It seems to me that such facts as these are worthy of at-

tention. Perhaps at first sight it may seem that the Easterns are over punctilious on such matters. Of course there is no denying that what they say is perfectly true, and that the general practice of the English Church has too often of late been contrary to Catholic precedent in this and in many other matters. Still, it may be said by some that the Easterns ought to deal more gently with our insular eccentricities and prejudices. It must, however, be remembered that the Eastern Church, alone out of the three great divisions of Catholic Christendom, has maintained a consistent tradition in these and most other matters, and that in the East, no less than in England, in the seventeenth century, objections have from time to time been raised against ceremonies—objections which at first sight appeared to be concerned with matters in themselves entirely indifferent, but which on closer inspection turned out to be "of dangerous consequence, as secretly striking at some established doctrine or laudable practice of the whole Catholic Church of Christ." Such was the iconoclastic controversy in the eighth century, which at first appeared to be only concerned with ceremonial, but afterwards turned out to be involved with the whole Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. These things seem to me well worth bearing in mind at the present time. They are important items in the attitude of the Holy Eastern Church towards certain controversies amongst us in the West.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FULHAM CONFERENCE ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST.

Following a Resolution of the London Diocesan Conference in 1900 Bishop Creighton called a Round Table Conference at Fulham Palace in October of that year to consider the doctrine of the Holy Communion and its expression in Ritual. Fifteen theologians representing widely different schools of thought in the Church of England accepted the Bishop's invitation to attend. In his own words his "desire was to bring together various phases of theological opinion as represented by theologians whose training enabled them to talk a common language". Each member was requested by the Bishop to send him "a statement of his belief on the subject of the Divine gift in Holy Communion. The statement should be positive not negative."

Birkbeck's statement is subjoined. In a letter addressed to me on 23 October, 1900, he writes :—

"The Round Table was *very* interesting. I wish you had been there. My statement I enclose. The first passage is simply word for word from the Orthodox reception of Protestants into the Church : the rest, as you will see, is nearly all Palmer—his very words—I don't think the subject has ever been treated better : of course I did it with a view to what the Russians will say when it is published, and as my contribution,

to the controversy upon Transubstantiation which is still raging out there!"[1]

Mr. Birkbeck's Statement of Faith in the Eucharistic Presence.

"I believe that, in the Eucharist, under the Sacramental species of bread and wine, the faithful partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of sins and unto everlasting life. And for the further elucidation of this mystery, I appeal to the belief and practice of the ancient undivided Catholic Church of Christ, as they appear in the primitive Liturgies and the writings of the Fathers of the Church.

"In the writings of the Fathers of the undivided Church, I find, firstly, that the 'Gifts' or 'Oblations'—that is to say, the species of bread and wine—are said to be changed, transfigured, transformed, converted, transmuted or transelemented into the Body and Blood of Christ. I find, secondly, that there are other occasions, when they say that in this Food there are two things, one heavenly and the other earthly; and thirdly, they sometimes say, though more rarely, that Christ made the bread to be His Body, that is to say, the figure of His Body, and that the bread does not depart from its proper nature.

"It is self-evident that any one of these three modes of speaking of the Holy Eucharist may easily be pressed to a point at which it would exclude the other two. As a matter of history, while I observe that, immediately after the division of the Church into East and West, they actually did become the subject of controversy, I, at the same time, take note of the fact that before the Great Schism, although they may have been sometimes employed as illustrations in other controversies,

[1] The Greeks accepted the word *Transubstantiation* at the Synod of Bethlehem, held under Western influences in 1672. The Russians received the decree of the Synod in a modified form, but the exact sense in which the word is used by the Easterns is still a subject of controversy. (See the end of this chapter, p. 246.)—[A.R.]

these modes of expression themselves remained each of them unchallenged. From this, I infer, that unless we can ourselves make use of these expressions in the same sense in which the Fathers employed them, it is self-evident that in some respect we have shifted our ground from that of the undivided Church, and that damage has been done to the analogy of the Faith.

"But further, it is not only with reference to man's food in the Eucharist, but also with reference to man himself in Baptism that we find the same three different forms of language, and in the same degrees of relative frequency and emphasis, used by the Fathers. For first, the Fathers repeatedly say that we are in baptism changed, transfigured, transformed, transmuted, transelemented. The Fathers in using these say freely and ordinarily that the old man born of the flesh of Adam dies; that we are created anew and born again; that we are new creatures in Christ, members of His Body, of His bones and of His flesh; that the old man is put off, and is done away. But they say also, *secondly*, on other occasions, that in the Baptised Christian there are two natures, two lives, one from the first Adam, and another from the second; and that the second Adam must contend against the first until the whole body of sin be abolished. And again, *thirdly*, they say, though more rarely, that the Baptised do not really die nor rise again, but by a figure are made partakers of Christ, and that they remain after baptism the very same men, children of Adam as before.

"It therefore seems to me that the doctrine of the Eucharist is capable of being evolved from the doctrine of Baptism (not by comparing the sanctification of the water in Baptism with the sanctification of the bread and wine in the Eucharist, but) by virtue of that correlation which exists between the life or living creature which needs food and the food (in a sense consubstantial with it) that feeds it. There is a certain necessary relation between the thing, name, and idea of generation or *birth* and the thing, name, and idea of *food*. If a nature needing food was not in living creatures which are born, such a thing as food could not be. Accordingly, when our Lord

announced the *new birth*, which was to restore the life of man, a *new food* to sustain that life would seem naturally to follow.

"But to natural reason the 'new birth' of a man already born was either a mere metaphor or figure of speech, or a contradiction in terms, and an impossibility. But our Lord answered Nicodemus' objection not by 'I speak only figuratively,' but, with a double asseveration, He repeated what He had said, and then only added, to remove misconception, that this was not any such natural or carnal birth as Nicodemus understood, but a supernatural, heavenly and spiritual birth, not of flesh but of spirit, that which is born of the flesh being flesh and that which is born of the spirit being spirit, so that the two interfere not the one with the other.

"And thus we arrive at the parallel between Baptism and the Holy Eucharist in all three of the modes of speech already referred to.

"In the case of the new birth we have, *first*, that which is the object of faith and not of sense, namely, that which being born of spirit as of a second Adam is spirit; *secondly*, that which is the object of sight and sense, namely, the man that is already born, the flesh born of the first Adam; and *thirdly*, the union of these two in one and the self-same subject. And we may say the same in regard to the new food.

"If we speak according to the spirit we shall say that the natural food, inasmuch as it is not said to be united to some other thing which is made spirit of spirit, but is said to become and to be of itself the new food, will necessarily be changed; and changed too inwardly and essentially, not outwardly or accidentally. We shall say that the natural food will have been done away, and will have ceased to be, that it will have passed into a new thing. But if any misconception (like that of Nicodemus respecting the new birth) causes us to look back to the order of nature, to that which is after the flesh, we shall say that according to the flesh, that is, according to the order of nature, and as to its natural substance, the food remains the same as before and has by no means under-

gone any physical change. And lastly, speaking of the two orders of grace and nature conjointly, we may say that there are in the food two things, an outward and an inward, and in a certain sense two foods, the one consubstantial (in the sense that food is consubstantial with that which it sustains) with the first Adam, natural, earthly, and corruptible, the other consubstantial with the second Adam, supernatural, heavenly, and incorruptible, the earthly food after the flesh and the spiritual food after the spirit, and these two will not interfere the one with the other.

"Subject to these considerations I adopt the language of the ancient Liturgies, which all of them assert or imply the reality of the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of our Lord. Thus the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom at the consecration of the sacred species prays the Father to send His Holy Spirit 'upon us and upon these gifts presented before Thee, and make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ and that which is in this cup the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.' Again, the prayer which is said by both priest and deacon before receiving the Holy Communion and which afterwards is again read on behalf of the laity who communicate, contains the following words: 'I believe that this is Thy most pure Body indeed, and that this is Thy precious Blood indeed'.

"That the bread and wine in the Holy Eucharist *are* after consecration Christ's Body and Blood, which they were not before, seems to me to be the constant doctrine of the whole Catholic and Apostolic Church, received originally from the lips of the Lord Himself, Who said, 'This is My Body,' and Who, having created all things, knew also how to employ words, nor left it to any man to modify the force of His words or to substitute others in their stead. But while it is clear that this is so, and quite independently of the individual faith or disposition of individual recipients of the Holy Sacrament, I would point out that there is nothing either in the teaching or the practice of the ancient undivided Church which implies a belief in a mere mechanical conversion of the

sacred elements into that which they signify. That conversion takes place, as is so clearly shown in the language of the Liturgies, in answer to prayer; and while the benefits whereof we are partakers by receiving the Holy Sacrament depend upon our faith and God's grace, as appears in the prayer of our Church, that we may 'so eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son, Jusus Christ, and drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean through His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood,' the Presence of our Lord in His Sacrament primarily depends neither upon the prayers nor the acts of individual men, whether they be priests or laymen, but upon the prayers, and the faith (which alone can obtain answers to prayer) of the Church herself. The priest and the layman have their part in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, appointed them by the Church; but it is the faith of the Church, and her obedience to the commands of her Divine Head, which enables her confidently to assure them that their prayer in respect to this and every other Sacrament will be, and is, answered.[1]

[1] See note at foot of p. 355.

CHAPTER XX.

THE EPISTLE OF THE HOLY SYNOD OF RUSSIA TO THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES TO NON-ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS IN 1903.[1]

To the Most Holy Archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome and Œcumenical Patriarch, the Lord Joachim III, together with the Holy and Sacred Synod of the Great Church of Christ at Constantinople, we send a brotherly salutation in Christ.

It was with especial joy and love that the Most Holy Synod of All the Russias received the revered and Spirit-bearing epistle of your Holiness and of your Sacred Synod, impressed, as it was, with that zeal for the welfare of the Church of God, and that invariable care for the salvation of all men, to which we are accustomed from the throne of Chrysostom, and, likewise, with its especial love and affinity to the Church of Russia; and, after attentive investigation and discussion, it now proceeds to reply to your love, and to communicate to you its opinion upon the questions so opportunely proposed by your wise solicitude.

First of all, remembering the words of the Psalmist, "Behold how good and how joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity," and the commandment of the Apostle "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," we greet with love your thought, dear to God, as to the necessity of consolidating unity and extending the circle of mutual intercourse between those sisters in the faith, the local Holy Orthodox Churches of God, deeming that it is only in mutual love, and in constant and active communication one with another, that the Holy Churches will find the requisite support and strength for their great

[1] As translated by Birkbeck for Anglican readers.—[A.R.]

"wrestling against the rulers of the darkness of this world" —against infidelity, indifferentism, and other noisome blasts. By far the best and most perfect expression of this holy fraternal love and most blessed communion of the Churches of God, and the most effectual means for the healing of our social disorders, would be, without doubt, special assemblies of Orthodox Bishops, and especially of the chief representatives of the Churches, and that they should confer immediately together, "mouth to mouth," upon questions which, at the time being, were agitating their spiritual flock. If the Bishops, when their hearts are so inclined, stimulated by the duties laid upon them as chief pastors, assemble themselves together, and, without dissimulation, regarding themselves as before the face of Christ Himself, Who, in very truth, has promised to be in the midst of those who are gathered together in His name, with a pure conscience, and with unanimous prayer, pronounce before all the world the confession of their faith, or lay down a decision healing the disorders and wounds in the Church, then the Holy Ghost, dwelling in the Church universal, and moving her, without doubt speaks in such a case by the mouths of the Bishops who have assembled themselves together in prayer, although each one of them acknowledge himself to be the most sinful of men. And if of old the place was shaken where the Church was assembled together after prayer, and after having boldly invoked the all-powerful Right Hand of Divine Providence against the foes which surrounded her, so now, without doubt, the united prayer of the representatives of the Church likewise "availeth much," nor would any forces of the enemy be able to withstand the confession of faith boldly proclaimed by their council; and the life of the Church, having found such a clear expression for itself, would without doubt shine forth with an inexplicable light before the face of all the world, and would attract to itself the hearts of all who are seeking the truth, rousing also at the same time the slumbering consciences of those who were begotten in the faith, but have forgotten, or waxen cold towards it.

But, however desirable such an assemblage of all the Orthodox Bishops might be, at the present time, when the local Holy Churches are divided from one another by the boundaries of States, and when every sort of inter-ecclesiastical relation of necessity touches also upon international relations, it is scarcely possible that such an assemblage of Bishops, or any such general and universal deliberation by them on Church questions, could be brought about. For the time being one may pray and wish for this. But a more immediate undertaking for the local Holy Orthodox Churches, and for their wise representatives presents itself—to approach as near as possible to the bright ideal, just mentioned, of the œcumenical intercourse of the early Church, by maintaining one with another a constant and living connection by means of written and other intercourse, exchanging brotherly messages upon the occasion of all joyful and sorrowful events in their Church life, asking for brotherly counsel and information in difficult cases, each sharing its own experience in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs with the rest. And more especially is such an exchange of opinions among the sister Churches indispensable in questions which concern the essence of the faith and the fundamental position of the present organisation of the Church, or in such as have an inter-ecclesiastical character. May it ever be that in cases when in some local Church any kind of reform has to be entered upon which deeply affects the established order of the Church, when this local Church is required to pronounce, or there has been already pronounced, a sentence upon any kind of new religious movement, more particularly if its influence may be supposed to extend beyond the bounds of the Church in question—may it ever be that on such occasions the representative of that Church, by means of an epistle or in some other way, shall inform the representatives likewise of the other local Orthodox Churches, asking of their brotherly experience for their advice, and putting them in possession of the facts of what has taken place in his own region. Such constant mutual help and sharing in a common life will without doubt serve as a real and living bond,

strengthening all the local Churches in the one body growing up into "an habitation of God through the Spirit". But likewise in its own particular life each autocephalous Orthodox Church must always (as, indeed, it does at present) preserve the memory and consciousness of its union with the other Orthodox Churches, and of the fact that only in communion and agreement with them has it the pledge of truth and of eternal life, or manifests itself as the Church of God, and that, if it has lost this communion and union, it must perish and wither as a branch which has fallen away from the vine. May the constant and active introduction into their life and ecclesiastical practice of this principle of œcumenicity (*vselenskosty*), the training of a feeling of its necessity in his ecclesiastical community, be the subject of the special care of the wise representatives of the local Churches, and we believe that their unremitting and sincere zeal will not be slow in bringing forth abundant fruit in the blessed field of œcumenical union, enlivening at the same time the Church life of each local Church, strengthening the faith of its children, perfecting them in the hope of eternal life, and together with this likewise revealing to all the world the truth in all its splendour, and the power of the Orthodox faith of Christ.

As regards our relations towards two great ramifications of Christianity, the Latins and the Protestants, the Russian Church, together with all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, ever prays, awaits, and fervently desires that those who in times of old were children of Mother Church and sheep of the one flock of Christ, but who now have been torn away by the envy of the foe and are wandering astray, "should repent and come to the knowledge of the truth," that they should once more return to the bosom of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, to their one Shepherd. We believe in the sincerity of their faith in the All-Holy and Life-originative Trinity, and on that account we accept [as valid] the baptism of both one and the other. We respect the Apostolical Succession of the Latin hierarchy, and those of their clergy who join our Church we accept [as validly ordained] in the Orders which they then

possess, just as we do in the case of Armenians, Copts, Nestorians, and other bodies that have not lost the Apostolic Succession. "Our heart is enlarged" (2 Cor. vi. 11), and we are ready to do all that is possible in order to promote the establishment upon earth of the unity which we so much desire. But, to our great regret and to the common grief of all true children of the Church, at the present time we are obliged to think, not so much of the softening of our relations towards Western Christians, and of a love-abounding drawing of their communities to union with us, as of the unwearying and ever-watchful defence of the rational [*slovesnikh* = λογικῶν] sheep committed to our charge from unceasing attacks and multiform seducements on the part of the Latins and the Protestants.

Well known to our dearly beloved and highly esteemed fathers and brethren are the secular desires of Rome, which indeed in their time served as the cause of her apostasy; well known in history her various artifices, both open and secret, directed with the object of subjecting to herself the Orthodox East; and well known are the costly schools, the missionary societies, the special monastic orders and other institutions, which indeed exist down to the present day, and whose number does not cease to grow, whose sole object is to ensnare, if possible, the children of the Orthodox Church. Upon Russia, in particular, the eyes of Latinism have long been directed. Not being able to seduce our common people, simple, but pious and devoted to the Church as they are, they turn to members of the higher aristocracy, who have been accustomed to living abroad, and who, for many generations, have been in constant communion with the spirit of the West, and by means of secret propaganda, of literature, the press, etc., they strive to unsettle them in the faith of their fathers and to establish Roman Catholicism amongst them. The conversion of Russia and of the Russian people constitutes the secret dream and unconcealable goal of the yearnings of the Papacy of our times. Therefore, however pacific the speeches of the Latins may be, however assiduously they may express and emphasise in all sorts of ways their especial love and respect for the Orthodox

Church, and in particular for the Russian people and State, these fair words must not, nor can they, conceal the real desires of Rome from our attention: and we, of necessity, shall only all the more increase our watchfulness and our determination to stand steadfastly upon the immovable soil of Orthodoxy and not to be lured away by any appearances of peace falsely understood, notwithstanding all our longing for the union of faith enjoined upon all Christians by Christ our Saviour Himself.

And just as inaccessible, if not even more so, Protestantism shows itself to be at the present time. Having no understanding of Church life, and requiring for themselves external works evident to the senses, chiefly of a general social character, the Protestant communities look upon our Eastern Church as a region of ecclesiastical stagnation, of error and darkness unredeemed by a ray of light, not even stopping short of bringing accusations of idolatry against us, and therefore out of falsely understood zeal for Christ they do not spare material means and forces for the spreading of their Protestant errors amongst the children of the Orthodox Church, losing no opportunity of undermining the authority of the Orthodox hierarchy and of unsettling the faith of the people in the sanctity of the traditions of the Church. Religious exclusiveness and even fanaticism, mixed with a contemptuous arrogance in relation to Orthodoxy, is the distinguishing mark of the Protestants, one may say, even more than of the Latins. Of course, much of this may be explained by the secular prejudices and general narrowness of the horizon of the German school of theology, and, consequently, likewise of the Protestant Church agents, and this fact imposes upon our scholars the duty of revealing before the consciousness of the West the true majesty and the really Christian purity of Orthodoxy. But until this onerous and thankless sowing of seed upon the stony ground of cultured pride and mutual misunderstanding shall come to bear fruit, it behoves us representatives of the Church, and especially of the Russian Church, to exert all our strength in the fight

against the multiform allurements of this dangerous enemy of the Church, making prayer without ceasing unto her Chief Shepherd to defend His faithful sheep against its assaults.

The Anglicans assume a somewhat different attitude towards Orthodoxy. With rare exceptions they do not aim at the perversion of Orthodox Christians, and upon every occasion and opportunity strive to show their special respect for the Holy Apostolic Eastern Church, admitting that she, and not Rome, is the true conservator of the traditions of the Fathers, and in union and agreement with her seeking a justification for themselves [i.e. for their own position]. Love and goodwill cannot but call forth love on our side also, and nourish in us the good hope of the possibility of Church union with them in the future. But here, also, much still remains to be done and to be explained, before that it will be possible to think of any sort of definite step in one or in the other direction. And, first of all, it is indispensable that the desire for union with the Eastern Orthodox Church should become the sincere desire not only of a certain fraction of Anglicanism (the "High Church"), but of the whole Anglican community, that the other purely Calvinistic current which in essence rejects the Church, as we understand her, and whose attitude towards Orthodoxy is one of particular intolerance, should be absorbed in the above-mentioned pure current, and should lose its perceptible, if we may not say exclusive, influence upon the Church policy and in general upon the whole Church life of this Confession which, in the main, is exempt from enmity towards us. On our side, in our relations towards Anglicans, there ought to be a brotherly readiness to assist them with explanations, an habitual attentiveness to their best desires, all possible indulgence towards misunderstandings which are natural after ages of separation, but at the same time a firm profession of the truth of our Œcumenical Church as the one guardian of the inheritance of Christ and the one saving ark of Divine grace.

The so-called Old Catholics, who courageously raised their voice against "him that loveth to have the pre-eminence

over them" (3 John 9) and to this day are not ceasing to make every sacrifice in their great fight for the truth and for conscience, from the very first steps which they took found sympathy for themselves amongst our active Churchmen and representatives of theological science, some of whom took a very lively interest in their cause, working unweariedly on their behalf both in literature and at congresses. In response to a general desire a special Commission was instituted in St. Petersburg for the investigation of the question concerning the Old Catholics and for intercourse with them. (This Commission, indeed, exists up to the present time.) Our workers were animated by the very best feelings towards the Old Catholics, and, understanding all the diversity in national, historical, ecclesiastical, and other conditions and traditions, maintained throughout a patient attitude towards the disagreements and misunderstandings of the Old Catholics which arose, and were ready to do everything to smooth a way for their entry into the Church. At first this much-to-be-desired work appeared to be near and realisable without any special difficulty. But time goes on. The chief pillars of the Old Catholic movement, brought up in traditions which, although not Orthodox, were at least ecclesiastical, are one after another passing away from the arena of life, and giving place to new men, it may be, just as sincere and self-denying, but not so firm in their churchmanship, they not having lived a Church life; while they are surrounded, for the most part, by a Protestant world, to which, moreover, they are near, both in language and in a common civil life, and in University education, and, lastly, in their very struggle with Rome. To these new men, not particularly firm in churchmanship, under the circumstances of their being far distant from the East, and of having no clear but a dim conception of it, the Protestant world may naturally appear congenial and near, and it is not easy for them to bear up against its imperceptible but constant influence. And this is the reason that our Russian Church, while not ceasing even now to sympathise with, and admire, the Old Catholics, or to co-operate in every way with their praiseworthy search for Church truth, is beginning to look

with some anxiety upon the future of this movement, and to ask the question whether the Old Catholics will keep to their original resolution to belong only to the real Œcumenical Church, and will aim at union with her; or whether, carried away by an alluring day-dream, so natural to the rationalistic West, of reinstating the true Church amongst themselves at home by their own powers of learning and by their intellect, they will turn aside into the byways of Protestantism, to the great grief of all their true friends? The task that lies before us in respect to them ought, in our opinion, to consist in this—that while we should not place superfluous obstacles to union in their way by misplaced intolerance or suspiciousness, nor on the other hand be carried away by the easily understood desire to have useful and extremely learned allies against Rome, we should seriously and steadfastly, according to conscience and before Christ, reveal to them our faith and unchangeable conviction in the fact that our Eastern Orthodox Church, which has inviolably preserved the complete deposit of Christ, is alone at the present time the Œcumenical Church, and that thereby in very deed we should show them what they ought to have in view, and upon what they ought to decide, if they really believe in the savingness of abiding within the Church and sincerely desire union with her.

And, lastly, the question of the change, or merely of some reform of the Calendar, has been troubling the minds of the Orthodox in our country not a little for some time past, just as it has with you. At the command of our Most Religious Sovereign a Special Commission of learned representatives of the various branches of knowledge bearing upon this subject was formed at the Imperial Academy of Science expressly for the purpose of investigating this question. But the labours of this Commission, which are extremely complicated and many-sided, are up to the present not concluded, and it is impossible to say beforehand what will be their final result. It is only necessary, in our opinion, to keep in view the fact that this question has many sides, which respectively admit of an elucidation and settlement by no means identical the one with the other. The application of the New Style to the civil

reckoning of time only, without changing the Paschalia, and without transferring the Church festivals, but merely changing the figure of the dates agreeably to the New Style (i.e. the day which is now dated January 6 would then be dated January 19, but would still remain the Feast of the Theophany) would, of course, not particularly affect the interests of the Church, inasmuch as in Church practice the Julian Calendar would still remain in full force (except that the Feast of the New Year would then no longer coincide with the Feast of the Circumcision of the Lord, but with the memorial of St. Boniface the Martyr on December 19 of the Old Style, just as is now the practice, for instance, in the Orthodox Church of Japan, which has to date its festivals by the New Style which is used in Japan). But if we are to touch upon the question of the purely scientific worth of this or that reckoning of time, the scholars of most weight amongst us incline rather in favour of the Julian Calendar, with merely certain corrections admitted into it, and not at all to exchanging it for the Gregorian Calendar, which, according to the conclusion they have come to, is less skilfully contrived. And this authoritative voice of the scholars constrains us, the guardians of the Church, to maintain an attitude of great caution towards the desire of some people to change the calendar, if thereby is meant an alteration of the Paschalia and of the whole chronology of the Church. Such a change, disturbing the immemorial order of things which has repeatedly been hallowed by the Church, would, without doubt, be accompanied by certain disturbances in the life of the Church, and meanwhile, on the present occasion, such disturbances would not find sufficient justification for themselves, either in the exclusive rightfulness of the proposed reform, or in the needs of the Church being ripe for the change. Wherefore, for our part, we would stand up for the conservation of the Julian Calendar in Church practice, admitting at the most only the formal alterations with regard to the New Year, and the renumbering of the dates as we have explained above.

Proposing all that we have enunciated above to your love, and to your wise and favourable judgment, we cannot help

turning the attention of the representatives of the holy Churches of God to the sorrowful fact that even within the Orthodox Church itself we see a weakening of love worthy of tears, dissensions, and division sometimes going so far as a rupture of ecclesiastical communion. Let our love be extended to our erring brethren who dwell in our midst. Side by side with us stand those ancient Christian communities, the Nestorians, the Armenians, the Copts and others, which have been separated for many centuries from the Church, but have not lost their Church organisation nor their hierarchy, and which at the present time, in the persons of their leading members, are in some cases beginning to arrive at a sense of the wrongfulness of their apostasy. To draw once more into the bosom of the one Church these men, who live side by side with us, and are extremely near to us in culture, manners, and customs, and more particularly in the fashion of their Church life and in the type of their religion, appears to be the most immediate object for our Church to undertake, and our direct and absolute duty, in fulfilling which we not only should revive these ancient communities into a new Church life, but in time should discover for the Church herself a new source of strong and zealous labourers in the common work of the Church.

Most heartily beseeching our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ that He may confirm His Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in unanimity and may strengthen the principle of mutual love and communion within her, and that He may grant unto your Holiness and the Holy and Sacred Synod surrounding you, together with all the great Church of Constantinople, peace and prosperity and good success in all things, we remain, with brotherly love in Christ our God,

ANTONIUS, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga.
VLADIMIR, Metropolitan of Moscow and Kolomna.
VLADIMIR, Bishop of Vladikavkaz and Mozdok.
NICHOLAS, Bishop of Tavrida and Simferopol.
JOHN, Bishop of Saratoff and Tzaritzyn.
MARCELLUS, Bishop.

23 *February*, 1903.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EPISTLE OF THE HOLY SYNOD OF RUSSIA TO THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE (*continued*).

(*Comments on the Epistle by Mr. Birkbeck.*)

THE Epistle of the Russian Holy Synod to the Patriarch of Constantinople is a document of exceptional interest, not only as expressing the mind of the Russian ecclesiastical authorities upon certain important questions, but as illustrating the relations which exist between the various autocephalous Churches of which the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church is composed, and the means by which, under existing circumstances, Orthodox unity is maintained. For English Churchmen it possesses the further interest of being known to have been mainly drawn up by the present presiding member of the Holy Synod, the Metropolitan Antonius, of St. Petersburg, who, at that time Archbishop of Finland, represented the Russian Church at the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, and during his stay in this country made such an excellent impression upon all with whom he came in contact.

The Epistle was written in reply to a letter of inquiry, addressed by the Œcumenical Patriarch, Joachim III, and his Holy Synod to the Russian Holy Synod, informing them of certain questions which had arisen in the Church of Constantinople, with regard to the attitude of the Orthodox Church towards Roman Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans, Old Catholics, and other non-Orthodox bodies of Christians, and asking for information as to the attitude of the Russian Church towards these questions and for brotherly counsel as

to the best mode of dealing with them in accordance with the spirit of the Orthodox Church.

This method of securing unity of action between the various autocephalous Churches of the Orthodox East by means of an interchange of information and counsel between their chief representatives, although it has often been forgotten by certain Western bodies, who, in their eagerness to introduce their wooden horses into the Orthodox citadel, have attempted to negotiate terms of reunion with one or other of them separately, will at once be recognised as no new departure by all who are conversant with the history of the Eastern Church since the schism of East and West. Temporary misunderstandings and petty jealousies of a racial, political, or personal character may indeed from time to time arise among Orthodox as among other Christian ecclesiastics or communities, and a great many hard things may be said or written. But whatever Greeks and Russians, Roumanians and Servians may have to say about one another's shortcomings, and however little pains may be taken to conceal such differences from the knowledge of interested non-Orthodox foreigners, no sooner does any question assume a form which is likely vitally to affect the practice, constitution, or faith of the Church than all the fears of the friends, and the hopes of the enemies, of Orthodoxy are very quickly set at rest. Eastern Church history is full of such instances of the failure of such intrigues, from the time when Jaroslav the Wise gave refuge and hospitality to the legates of Leo IX on their flight from Constantinople, down to the present day.

More especially has this mode of regulating their affairs, and of maintaining unity of faith and practice, been noticeable since the downfall of the Eastern Empire, when the Œcumenical Patriarchate passed under the dominion of the infidels. The recognition of the Russian Church as autocephalous immediately after that disaster, the erection of a fifth Patriarchate at Moscow—the "Third Rome"—in the sixteenth century, the troubles of the Orthodox at about the same time in Poland, the substitution of the Russian Holy

Synod for the Patriarchate of Moscow in the time of Peter the Great, the relations between the Orthodox Church and the British non-Jurors, and many other instances down to quite recent times might be quoted of a similar interchange of communications between the authorities of the Orthodox Churches upon important matters affecting the life of the Church as a whole.

The principles underlying this method of dealing with fresh problems as they arise could not be more clearly set forth than in the earlier portion of the Russian Epistle. It is, in effect, an adaptation, of that which makes the decrees of a general council to be the authoritative decision of the Church, to the circumstances of a time when the actual assemblage of the representatives of all the autocephalous Orthodox Churches in one place is not possible; the main point being that the traditions, teaching, and practice of every local Church should be ascertained before coming to a decision, and that that decision, when arrived at, should be accepted by the whole Church as a true expression of her mind.

It is interesting to notice that since the Great Schism between East and West, whereas the tendency of the Western Church has been more and more to develop the Patriarchal authority into what Latin authors write of as "La Monarchie Pontificale," and Eastern writers describe as "Papalo-Cæsarism,"[1] and to leave less and less place or practical need in their ecclesiastical system for a General Council, exactly the opposite has been the case in the East. At the time of the Great Schism, although the Patriarch of Constantinople was still in theory merely *primus inter pares* among the other Eastern Patriarchates, the losses these latter had incurred through heretical defections and infidel conquests had practically left him in a not dissimilar position in the East to that occupied by the Roman Pontiffs in the Western Church. The

[1] A very obvious repartee to the term "Césaro-Papism" which the Roman controversialists of the beginning of the last century applied to the Russian Church. The Slavophile defenders of Orthodoxy were not slow to make the most of De Maistre's blunder in inventing the shallow and misleading *sobriquet*.

daughter Churches, which were afterwards to become autocephalous, were as yet in their infancy, and were entirely willing to remain in a state of tutelage under the immediate jurisdiction of the Œcumenical Throne. That the history of the West was not repeated in the East is due partly, indeed, to historical circumstances; but the main reason is to be sought in an entirely different conception of the nature of the Church and of the conditions of ecclesiastical unity. Whereas in the West the idea of the Church being divided into an *ecclesia docens* and *ecclesia discens* became more and more prominent, and the former tended more and more to a system of graduated hierarchical subordination under a more or less autocratic head, the Easterns held fast to their belief that the custody of the faith was committed to the whole body of the Church, which could be expressed when needful through the voices of its local representatives, whether by means of their general assemblage in a Council, or through an interchange of views by means of letters or personal intercourse. Accordingly the history of the relations between the Patriarchate and its daughter Churches presents a marked contrast to what occurred in the West To take the Russian Church as an example. It began by being as completely Greek as the English Church of Augustine's time was Roman. But first we find the services gradually translated from Greek into Slavonic, and the Greek Metropolitans at Kieff no longer requiring Greek books and singers from Constantinople. Next we have native Russian Metropolitans, but still, when possible, consecrated by the Patriarchs. Next we have Metropolitans elected and consecrated in Russia, but still confirmed at Constantinople. Some time after we find the latter condition dispensed with, and admitted by the Patriarch to be superfluous; and lastly, at the end of 600 years, the See of Moscow is acknowledged as a Patriarchate equal in authority to the mother see. To adapt Bishop Creighton's aphorism concerning England and Rome to Russia, she retained the supremacy of Constantinople so long as she found it a help, and got rid of it so soon as she found it a hindrance. The difference between the two pro-

cesses consists in the fact that in Russia each stage was arrived at with the full consent of the Patriarch, who found in it nothing that was not entirely consistent with Orthodox conceptions of ecclesiastical unity. The result has been that Russia, if lost to the Patriarchs of Constantinople as a merely dependent appanage, has not been lost to the Church of which they occupy the primatial throne, as the present interchange of letters very clearly shows.

We have now arrived at that part of the Russian Epistle which deals *seriatim* with the Œcumenical Patriarch's inquiries respecting the attitude of the Russian Church towards the various bodies of Christians lying outside the communion of the Orthodox Eastern Church.

In the first place, we have the relations of the Russian Church "towards two great ramifications of Western Christianity, the Latins and the Protestants". The first point to be noticed is that the Latins and Protestants are treated together as representing merely two forms of one and the same apostasy (*otpadjénije*). If we are to understand the Eastern Church at all, it is essential that this attitude of hers should be realised. She is, indeed, proudly conscious of the fact that, while all other Christian bodies have either added to or subtracted from the faith of Christendom as once held by the undivided Church, she has maintained her traditions unbroken and her faith unchanged. But by this she does not mean that she looks upon herself as a *via media*, still less as a halfway-house, or a sort of compromise between the conflicting tendencies of Rome and Protestantism. To her the separation of the West from the East presents itself as a great revolt on the part of the former against the authority of the Catholic Church as a whole, and the present divided state of Western Christendom as nothing more or less than the logical outcome of the principles which lay at the root of that revolt.

This view has been worked out in detail by the Russian theologians of the last century. If one Patriarchate ignores the existence of the other Patriarchates, and takes upon itself to alter the Creed of the whole Church as decreed by the

General Councils without even consulting them, what more natural than that the leaven of revolt should gradually work its way further in the isolated mass, and that whole regions and provinces of that Patriarchate should claim a similar right to manage their own affairs independently of the rest, and that next the clergy should defy their Bishops, or even get rid of them altogether, or that the laity should repudiate the authority of the clergy? Again, the alteration of the Creed, although not initiated by the Popes, had eventually to seek its justification under their authority, and they were thus committed to claiming spiritual powers differing entirely in kind from, and altogether superior to, those of any other Bishop, or indeed of the collective Episcopate of the Catholic Church. The Russian theologians point out that, inasmuch as "ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you," and "without contradiction the less is blessed of the better," a Bishop, whether he be the most insignificant of Suffragans or the most exalted of Patriarchs, must receive his spiritual powers from a source which is essentially superior to himself and to every other Bishop. Whatever the local arrangements for his election to fill his particular see may be, he receives his spiritual powers and Divine commission from the whole Church, the Body of which Christ is the Head, at his consecration by a council of not less than three, or at least two,[1] Bishops, whose action she recognises as her own act for the purpose, just in the same way as when she recognises the decree of a Council of Bishops concerning the faith as her own voice, she thereby makes it to be of œcumenical authority. But when once this order of things is reversed, and an authority over the whole Church is claimed by one who is promoted thereto by means of no sacramental ordinance appointed by the Church, but owes his exceptional spiritual powers as contrasted with those of all other Bishops, and his plenary authority over them, to the mere

[1] Can. Apost. 1, Conc. Carth., can. 60.—The Eastern Church does not acknowledge the validity of the consecration of a Bishop by a single Bishop. On this ground the Russian treats the so-called "Austrian" succession amongst the Old Believers as null and void.

votes of those who, be they the people or clergy of his cathedral city, or be they a committee of subordinates appointed for the purpose by his predecessors, are, in any case, whether individually or in their corporate capacity, his inferiors, how does this differ in principle from what obtains amongst Protestant communities, whether it stops short, as in the old Lutheran States or in the modern Evangelical Church in Prussia, at such conventionalities as deriving the spiritual authority of the clergy from the appointments of a secular sovereign, or whether, as in some sects, the principle be carried to its logical conclusion, and each congregation claims to appoint and confer spiritual authority upon its own minister?

From this it will be seen that the Easterns regard Romanism and Protestantism as simply two aspects of the same heresy, that heresy being the rejection of the authority of the Church. The extremest forms of Protestantism represent to them nothing more than the logical development[1] of the false principles to which the West committed itself in breaking away from the rest of Christendom, and in claiming for the Western Patriarch an authority superior to, instead of derived from, and therefore subject to, the Church of God.

Before leaving this part of the Epistle, I would call attention to the very important passage with regard to the validity of Western baptisms. In this letter the Russian Church, for the first time, officially sets forth its definite theological reason for not rebaptising Westerns, as is still done in some parts of the Greek Patriarchates. Passing over the whole dispute concerning immersion or affusion, as well as the historical and canonical side of the question, in silence, the Epistle simply asserts that as both Rome and the Protestants believe rightly concerning the Holy Trinity, in whose Name baptism is administered, their baptism is valid, and ought not to be repeated, as if it were the baptism of Arians or of some

[1] The Russian theologians have traced the process in every department of the ecclesiastical life of the Western confessions—in the Sacraments, Invocation of Saints, prayers for the departed, relations between Church and State, philosophy, etc., but the subject is too large for the limits of this article.

other sect which rejected the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Such a principle is capable of a very wide application, and constantly appears in the controversial and apologetic writings of the Russian theologians of the present day.

The section concerning the Anglican Church shows an accurate knowledge of facts, and contains nothing which ought to wound the feelings of any English Churchman. Indeed, if we remember that the Easterns are quite as sure of their position as the Latins, if not more so, the friendliness of its tone as compared with that assumed towards us by the Roman authorities is most striking. If the Eastern ecclesiastical authorities are able to meet the advances of those who are outside their communion in a friendly spirit, and to treat misunderstandings "with all possible indulgence" instead of with a determination to make the very worst of them, the reason is to be sought in that fundamental difference in their conception of the nature of the Church which we have already seen to exist between Easterns and Latins. The Pope, by the very nature of his claims, is bound to look upon all those who are outside the Roman Church as rebels against his own divinely bestowed authority. "Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos" must ever be his motto: the more faithful he is to what he believes to be the truth the less easy does it become for him and for his subordinates to enter into friendly relations with those who do not acknowledge his sovereignty. With the Eastern hierarchy it is quite otherwise. No member of it, not even the Patriarch of Constantinople himself, lays claim to universal spiritual sovereignty; this would be, according to Eastern views, nothing more than to change the Church upon earth into a kingdom of this world. Accordingly, while they are bound by their sacred trust to guard the frontiers of their Church and to maintain its doctrine and discipline, the Russian and other Orthodox Bishops are able to meet any friendly acts on the part of members of the English hierarchy in the spirit in which they were made.

With regard to what is said about the "Calvinistic current" in the Anglican community, no one who knows anything of

the Eastern Church would expect her to admit Anglicans to communion as things are now. To do so would be to acknowledge the peculiar circumstances of the English Church at the present day, which are eminently local, and which friends and foes alike can see to be in a state of transition, as the normal and permanent condition of the whole Church of God. It will naturally be felt by English Churchmen that there is some exaggeration in speaking of the "perceptible, if not exclusive, influence" of these Calvinistic tendencies "upon the Church policy, and, in general, upon the whole Church life" of Anglicanism. But if it be remembered that the Metropolitan Antonius' acquaintance with the English Church began in the year 1897, that since then he has followed the affairs of the English Church with great care, and that during that time the most prominent official pronouncements made in England have been Archbishop Temple's Visitation Charge in October, 1898, and the two "Lambeth Opinions," the inference which he draws from them cannot be looked upon as altogether surprising. As the letter says, "much still remains to be done" before there can be a thought of any definite step in regard to reunion with the East, either for or against it. Time alone can show in which direction things are destined to move.

The section concerning the Old Catholics will be read with additional interest in connection with the articles on the same subject which have recently appeared in the *Guardian*. The section dealing with the heretical communities in the East will meet with the complete approval of those Churchmen who are interested in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission[1] and other similar undertakings in the East. The paragraph concerning the change of the Calendar will disap-

[1] This continued its operations, with headquarters at Urmia in Persia and at Qudshanis in Kurdistan, until the beginning of the Great War, when the Turks invaded the Persian province of Azerbijan and they and the Kurds slaughtered the Christians on both sides of the frontier or drove them into exile. But it had been for some time apparent that the task begun by Archbishop Benson in 1884 had been fulfilled, and that the Orthodox Church, through the Russian branch, was in a position to take over these Eastern Christians, and this is recognised in the Synodal Epistle; see page 257. —[A.R.]

point the Roman Catholics, who in Russia and other Orthodox countries have to keep their Easter sometimes five weeks after it has been kept in the West. But the advantages to be gained by a change of style do not seem sufficiently great to justify the risk of retarding the return to the Church of the Russian Old Believers, who would certainly be scandalised by the change.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN RUSSIA.[1]

THE chief interest of Russia for English Churchmen consists in the existence there of a great national Church—the greatest that the world has yet seen, numbering close upon 90,000,000 of souls—in closest connection with the Russian State, and independent from, but yet in full communion with, its Mother Church of Constantinople, to which it owes its birth 900 years ago. My object is to show the conditions under which she is at the present day maintaining her independence and nationality without forfeiting her catholicity.

And, first, with regard to her government. In order to understand the changes which are now going on, it is necessary, briefly, to review the history of the Russian Church. At first a mere Eparchy of the Greek Church, governed by Metropolitans, who were almost always Greeks, appointed and consecrated by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, it gradually developed, step by step with the growth of the Russian nation, into an independent Church. This was brought about without any breach of communion with the Greeks; and it was with the consent of the Patriarch that the Russians at last ceased even to apply for the confirmation of their newly-elected Metropolitans. The occasion was the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in the fifteenth century, and this nearly coincided with the time when Russia, freed from the Tartar yoke, became an independent power.

Next, a century later, soon after the Grand Dukes of Moscovy had assumed the title of Tzar, the Metropolitans, with

[1] This paper was read at the Church Congress, Great Yarmouth, 1907.—[A.R.]

the consent of the four Eastern Patriarchs, assumed the title of Patriarchs of Moscow. The third change was in the time of Peter the Great, when the present government by the Holy Synod, which may shortly be described as a small committee of bishops, with a layman to act between them and the civil power, was substituted for the Patriarchs. Ecclesiastically, the Holy Synod represents the Moscow Patriarchate in Commission: it was recognised as such by the other Eastern Patriarchs at the time of the change, the only condition being that it should continue to teach and maintain the orthodox faith; to this day they address it in any communications they may hold with it as "our well-beloved brother". Politically, it represents a part of those series of reforms under Peter the Great to which the modern bureaucratic Government of Russia owes it origin: it was, in effect, the application of that system to the government of the Church. In many respects its constitution doubtless infringed upon the ancient administrative rights of the hierarchy as formulated in the canon law of the Orthodox Church—quite as much so, I think, as any of the recent legislation of France has affected the rights of the Papacy. But, then, it must be remembered that the unity of the Orthodox Church depends ultimately, not, as it does in the Roman Church, upon hierarchical considerations, but upon unity of Faith. It is a great mistake either to regard the Russian Church as a Cæsaro-Papalism, with the Tzar instead of the Pope as its spiritual head, or to compare it with the State-made Churches of the Protestant Reformation. Because in dogmatic questions, and matters of purely spiritual discipline, the Russian Church has always held its own as an integral part of the whole Eastern Church, nor has the State disputed her rights in this respect.

As an illustration of this, I may mention that twice during the reign of Alexander II considerable pressure was put upon the Holy Synod to relax her discipline: in the one instance in her marriage law, and in the other in her rules concerning fasting, so far as they affected the army. In each case the Holy Synod, after due consideration, and after consulting the

Eastern Patriarchs and the authorities of the other autocephalous Orthodox Churches, replied that the Church was unable to make the change asked for. And accordingly the change was not made. This shows that in the East it is possible for a local Church to be national, and at the same time to maintain Catholic discipline.

After what I have said as to the development of the government of the Russian Church *pari passu* with the growth of the nation, it is not surprising that at the present time, when so many changes are taking place in the internal institutions of the country, it has been announced that the Emperor will shortly summon a council of the Russian Church to meet at Moscow to make a fourth change in her government. At the beginning of last year a commission of bishops, clergy, and laity was appointed to prepare for this council. It sat for many months, and all its discussions were fully reported; and at the same time the religious censorship of the Press was relaxed in order to allow of the fullest expression of opinion, both clerical and lay, from all quarters. It has been finally agreed that the coming National Council or Synod shall consist of bishops, clergy, and laity, who will all sit together; all diocesan bishops will have a seat, or, if necessary, send a priest to speak and to vote as their substitute. Such suffragan or retired bishops as are invited by the Holy Synod will also attend. The clergy and laymen in the council will have the right to join in the discussion of every question brought before it; but the resolutions of the council will be finally drawn up, voted upon, and signed by the bishops or their official substitutes alone. The clergy and laymen will be elected as follows: the clergy of each rural deanery will elect one of their own number for the diocesan electoral assembly, while each parish will elect a layman; these in their turn will, in each rural deanery, choose one of their own number for the diocesan electoral assembly; these diocesan assemblies will of Moscow them elect three clergy and three laymen, out of each three, with the bishop will select one to attend the council. The army chaplains, the principal monasteries, and the ecclesiastical academies

academies will be also represented; and the Holy Synod is authorised to summon any individuals, clerical or lay, whose learning or interest in Church affairs may be of service to the council's deliberations.

Whatever may be said of this constitution, it is at least an honest endeavour that the National Synod should represent every interest in the Church. As it has not yet met, I cannot say what the result of its labours will be.[1] But it is generally believed that it will restore the patriarchal form of government in some form: that a Patriarch, assisted by a Synod, chosen upon a wider basis than the present Holy Synod, will be given the supreme government of the Church; that there will be a considerable move in the direction of decentralisation and local self-government; that metropolitans and archbishops will become heads of organised provinces instead of, as they now are, possessors of merely honorary titles; and that provisions will be made according to the canons of the Seventh General Council for the frequent meeting of local, provincial, and diocesan synods. The divisions of unwieldy dioceses will also be taken in hand. We in East Anglia know something about this question. But what would you say to a diocese like that of Archangel, as large as the Kingdom of Prussia, with only a single railway, and only two or three roads, hardly fit for—well, certainly not motor-cars, but even for a rough tarantass drawn by three horses abreast; and where the only decent modes of communication—the rivers and sea—are frozen up for two-thirds of the year?

These and many other subjects—such as the financial arrangements of the Church, and the organisation of its academies and seminaries and other educational establishments—will come before the council. It will be seen that these are mainly administrative. As I have already said, local hierarchical arrangements are not considered to affect the divine constitution of the Church, and it is therefore an understood principle that such matters are best left to national Churches to arrange for themselves. When they have been agreed

[1] This National Synod never came into actual being.—[A.R.]

upon, they will be submitted to the Eastern Patriarchs and other autocephalous Orthodox Churches, who will doubtless accept them as they stand. It would be a different matter if the council had before it any dogmatic question, or one seriously affecting the spiritual discipline of the Church. In this case the Russian Church would not act alone, but would consult the other Orthodox Churches, just as East and West used to consult one another before their fatal schism in the ninth and eleventh centuries.

I have already mentioned two instances in which this principle was lately acted upon by the Russian Church; but one finds it applied again and again in the history of Orthodox Christendom, and, indeed, the only way in which a local Church can remain national, and at the same time maintain its catholicity, is for it to acknowledge the authority of the whole Catholic Church as binding upon itself. This, I think, is the chief lesson that the Orthodox Church has to teach us to-day. It is not, I think, often enough realised amongst us that she does not regard herself as a *via media*, or sort of happy mean between Romanism and Protestantism. On the contrary, she looks upon these as two aspects or stages in the development of the same heresy, namely, the rejection of belief in the authority of the Catholic Church—as a breach in the unity of a living organism of faith and love, that is to say, in the unity of that Body of which every baptised Christian living, or departed, or yet to be born, is a member, and of which Christ is the one and only Head. This it was which lay at the root of the *Filioque* quarrel, leading to the separation of East and West, when the Western Church took upon itself to alter and add to the œcumenical Creed of Christendom without consulting the other Churches. From that moment the unity of common faith and mutual love was broken, and the reign of rationalism had begun in the West. The authority of the Roman See might for a time preserve an external appearance of unity, but the inner and moral principle upon which unity rested was gone.

If one Patriarch of the Church, however exalted, takes

upon himself to alter and add to the œcumenical Creed without submitting that alteration to the judgment of the whole Church, say the Russians, it is naturally to be expected that whole provinces of his patriarchate will in turn revolt from him, as happened in England; and, further, that the clergy will revolt against their bishop, as did Luther; that the laity will in turn revolt against the clergy, as in the extreme forms of Protestantism, and that ultimately the notion of the Church will cease to exist, or else will come to be, as German Protestantism has been described by a Russian theologian, "a society of good men, differing in all their opinions, but earnestly seeking for truth, with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it".

The Russians point to the rationalistic controversies upon the Eucharist, with which the East has never been troubled, but which arose in the West immediately after her separation from the East, as an example of the new spirit which had arisen within her, and that from the time of Berengarius onwards they have continued to the present day, first in the Roman Church herself, and then in the various sects which have sprung from her. What more natural, say they, when the moral basis upon which the unity of the Church rests is once violated, that that Sacrament, which is the assurance that we are members incorporate in the mystical Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, should become henceforth the symbol, not of unity, but of discord? There is not time to follow the matter in detail. I will conclude by quoting a remark made a short time ago by a Russian friend to whom I had shown the Bishop of Bombay's charge insisting that baptised children of Christian parents should be turned out of church when the holy mysteries are celebrated, just as if they were unbaptised or excommunicate. "Now you can see," said he, "what we mean by saying that Protestantism is nothing but an extension of Popery. Our Church communicates as well as baptises infants; so did the Roman Church once, but after the schism it deprived its children of the Body and Blood of our Lord until they reach years of discretion—that is to say, on rationalistic

principles—for who are they to judge of the spiritual capacities of a child, when the Gospel itself tells us of John the Baptist, even before his birth, discerning and exulting in the presence of Christ? Next you have the Lutherans in the sixteenth century putting off first communion still later—from the age of seven to about the age of sixteen, likewise on grounds of utilitarian rationalism; and now in the twentieth century you have a Protestant bishop moving a further stage, never dreamt of even by the Lutherans, and saying that the little children, whose angels always behold the face of their heavenly Father, are not even to be present at the showing forth of their Saviour's death."

It is this sort of thing which Russians mean when they say that Protestantism is merely the natural development of the principles upon which the Latin schism rested, and that all Protestants are in reality Cryptopapists; and whatever English Churchmen may think of it, the point seems to me well worthy of consideration.

CHAPTER XXIII.

POSSIBILITIES OF INTERCOMMUNION WITH THE HOLY ORTHODOX EASTERN CHURCH ANGLICAN ORDERS.[1]

In the year 1865 the well-known Metropolitan, Philaret, of Moscow, wrote the following words:—

"How greatly to be desired is the union of the Churches. But how difficult it is for a movement, started with that end in view, to wing its flight with the desire pure and simple of arriving at the truth—a desire altogether free from any bias or partiality towards preconceived opinions!"[2]

These words form the last paragraph of a long letter, addressed to the Chief Procurator of the Russian Holy Synod, concerning some negotiations in which the Metropolitan himself had been taking an active interest, and which had then been going on for several years between certain leading Churchmen in America and Russia with a view to establishing Intercommunion between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches. The letter deals with certain compromises in matters of faith which had been pressed very persistently from the American side, but which the Russian ecclesiastical authorities had been unable to accept. The position was clearing itself. Just as in the 'forties William Palmer, of Magdalen, had been refused admission to the Sacraments in Russia as an Anglican, the reason given being "that it was impossible for an individual, whether priest or layman, to be in union at the same time with two Churches which were not in union with one another,"[3] so now in the 'sixties the Easterns found intercommunion between the American Church and themselves

[1] A paper read at the Pan-Anglican Congress, 1908.—[A.R.]

[2] Philaret, *Collection of Opinions and Extracts*, vol. v., p. 696.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 687.

impossible, so long as the two Churches had different faiths and different symbols of faith. The concessions demanded of the Easterns had practically amounted to the denial of the Œcumenicity of the Seventh General Council, and the relegation of Eastern teaching with regard to the Eucharist and other Sacraments, the Communion of Saints, and other vital points which they hold to be of the essence of the Church's faith and life, to the category of doubtful opinions or open questions. It meant to them the abandonment of their own position, and the substitution of the position of one school of thought in the Anglican Church, friendly indeed to the Easterns, but formulated in terms sufficiently vague not to exclude other Anglican schools of thought with which they had but little in common. This is what Philaret meant by "partiality towards preconceived opinions". Is this attitude of the Easterns, when once clearly stated, unreasonable? I think not. At any rate, their standpoint is precisely that which we English Churchmen are ourselves trying to make our Nonconformist brethren understand at the present time in our controversies over what is called "undenominational" education. Intercommunion, when it comes, will come, not as *a preliminary step towards*, but *as the consequence of*, perfect unity of faith in matters deemed essential not only by *one*, but by *both* of the two Churches.

Another point which was brought out at this time was that this unity of faith must also exist, not only between the two National Churches of Russia and America which were then negotiating, but also between all the Churches with which they were each respectively in communion. The Americans had admitted that the *Filioque* was no essential part of the Catholic faith and had no business in the Creed, but pleaded that it should, nevertheless, be left in their Creed for the present, for fear of raising difficulties with their Mother Church of England. On this proposal Philaret remarks: "The Russian Church also has a mother, and a rather strict one too: the Church of the Greek Patriarchates".[1]

[1] Philaret, *Collection of Opinions and Extracts*, vol. v., p. 538.

Again, when Palmer, in 1841, asked a certain Russian Bishop to admit him to Holy Communion, Philaret puts the case in this way: "Is the union of two Churches to begin by the communion together in the Holy Mysteries of a Bishop of the one and a deacon of the other? In reply to this will not the English Church, or the majority of her members, say: 'We can't trust that deacon, for he has entered into communion with a Church with which the English Church is not in communion'? And won't the Russian Church likewise say: 'Can a Bishop remain in our communion, who has entered into communion with a member of a Church which is outside of the communion of our Orthodox Church and holds doctrines which do not agree with hers'? Thus, instead of the wished-for union of the Churches, the practical result will be that each of these parties to a pretended union will injure his unity with his own Church. The union of divided Churches cannot be rightly or surely brought about by the particular action of private individuals: for this, regular combination and the action of the Episcopate are necessary": [1] and in another place he says that "it will have to be the subject of the deliberations of a future Council but cannot be settled by private individuals".[2]

But in spite of their failure to obtain their immediate end, it is impossible to over-estimate what the sacred cause of reunion owes to the work of the single-minded Palmer and those noble-hearted Americans. Their venture proved to be the beginning of a movement which has never ceased down to our day, and which, if we only be faithful, must in our Lord's own time be crowned with success; for it is His will that all who believe in Him may be one. If, indeed, it showed that the obstacles in the way of reunion were greater than they had expected, this in itself was a gain, for after all facts are facts, and the sooner they are recognised as such, the better. On the other hand, they were the first to prove that Anglicans and Orthodox could meet and discuss questions of Reunion

[1] Philaret, *Collection of Opinions and Extracts*, vol. iii., pp. 47, 48.
[2] *Russkij Archiv.*, 1894, No. 5, p. 93.

and Intercommunion in a perfectly friendly spirit. That this is possible even between the highest dignitaries of the two Churches is, of course, largely due to the fact that according to the Eastern view the unity of the Church depends upon unity of faith and love, and not, as in the Latin Church, upon subordination to any particular See. Accordingly the heads of the Eastern hierarchy, even if they cannot regard us as members of the Church, so long as dogmatic differences separate us, are not compelled by the logic of their position to regard us in the light of revolted subjects. It is by means of frequent intercourse of this kind, by means of mutual explanations, by willingness to learn what each side may have to impart to the other, that the road to Intercommunion will gradually be prepared, and not by impatience to find short cuts. Take, for instance, the question of Anglican Orders. It is of no use for individual Anglicans to press individual Orthodox dignitaries, however exalted, to settle this question in the name of the Orthodox Church. This can only be done by the authority of the whole Church. Nevertheless the question has advanced a very considerable stage during the last twelve years. In 1897 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York sent their *Responsio* to Leo XIII to all the principal members of the Russian hierarchy for their consideration, and at the same time, by using the titles "Ever-Virgin" and "Mother-of-God" of the Blessed Virgin Mary in their covering letter, showed that the Church of England held exactly what the Easterns do on the subject of our Lord's Incarnation.[1] At that time, a Professor of the Moscow Academy, Vasili A. Sokoloff, was just completing a long and learned work upon Anglican Orders,[2] in which he had not only decided in their favour from the historical and liturgical side, but had torn Leo XIII's bull into shreds, showing that neither it nor the reasons it contained had any significance from an Orthodox point of view. The only doubt was whether the Anglican

[1] This letter is given on page 112.—[A.R.]

[2] *An Enquiry into the Hierarchy of the Anglican Episcopal Church.* V. A. Sokoloff. 1897. The passages referred to are given below.

Church regarded Holy Orders as in any sense a Sacrament. So soon as some representative body of the whole Anglican Church, the Lambeth Conference, he suggested, should state that they regarded Holy Orders, though of less significance than Baptism and the Eucharist, as a true Sacrament, in the sense of necessarily conveying Divine grace, Orthodox theologians would have no difficulty in acknowledging their validity. The significance of this conclusion, more especially as coming just after our Archbishop's letter, increased, when Professor Sokoloff's work was placed before the Russian Holy Governing Synod as his "exercise" for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and when after ten months, for there was at first some difficulty, the degree was actually conferred upon him. The next step, therefore, rests with the Lambeth Conference. After all, it does not seem unreasonable that, before coming to the conclusion that Anglican orders are valid, the Russian Bishops and theologians should wish to know in what sense the Anglican Bishops themselves believe in them.

Lastly, may I make one suggestion to Russian writers—that they should find some other expression than "Articles of Faith" for our "Thirty-nine Articles of Religion"? Could not some Russian equivalent of the Greek *Ἄρθρα* or *κεφάλαια θρησκευτικά* be used? After all, when an Anglican child is asked in the Catechism, "Rehearse the Articles of thy belief," he recites the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed, not the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, just as when before the Tzar is crowned, when the question is put to him: "What dost thou believe?" he recites the Nicene Creed, not the "Spiritual Regulations" of Peter the Great's time, under which the present Russian Church is governed. If they could come to look upon the Thirty-nine Articles from a historical point of view, not as a Creed, but as a sixteenth-century working system for the clergy, the controversial portions of which were concerned not with the East, but with contemporary local questions in the West, I do not say that all, but that at least many difficulties would disappear. To give but one instance: the article about the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, etc., having erred,

which always gives such offence in the East, would then be seen to be in no sense directed against the Eastern Church, but merely a statement that individual Apostolic Sees, however exalted, Rome included, were not exempt from error, and had as a matter of fact at one time or other in their history been occupied by heretical prelates.[1]

The following is a translation of the commencement and the conclusion of one chapter in Professor Sokoloff's work cited above, of which the heading is:—

Has the Laying-on of Hands of the English Church the Significance of a Sacrament Conferring Grace?

"The imposition of hands united with prayer, or the so-called visible side of the Sacrament of Orders, in itself represents only a means ordained by God Himself to men, in order that, in making due use of it, they might hand on to those ordained the gifts of Divine grace. This visible side [of the Sacrament], however, has not in itself so much power as to be able, by its mere application alone, to suffice to effect the grace of the Sacrament. However exactly and regularly all the conditions of the visible side of *χειροτονία* (ordination) may have been observed, the mere observation of these in itself by no means affords a warrant that the person ordained has really acquired the grace of the priesthood. The Divinely-instituted outward rite of the laying-on of hands, all-important as it is, can only have a grace-bestowing significance when, together with it those inward conditions are also fulfilled upon which the validity of the Sacrament depends. In order to convince oneself of this by an obvious example, one has only to turn one's attention to

[1] The verb in Greek would be rendered *ἥμαρτον, ἥμαρτε*, not *ἡμαρτήκασι, ἡμάρτηκε*. If there had been any intention to condemn the Eastern Church it is quite impossible that the article should have omitted to mention Constantinople. All the article states is, that just as the Apostolic Patriarchates of the East have at one time or other fallen into error (Semi-Arian, Monophysite, etc., e.g. Dioscorus), so the Apostolic See of the West—the See of St. Peter—is not exempt from error, and has, as a matter of history (e.g. Honorius), erred before now. Constantinople is left out, not, of course, because it has never had a heretic on its throne (e.g. Nestorius), but because it has not an Apostolic See.

the Lutheran ordination, that is to say, to that form of service by which the clergy of the Lutheran confession of faith are instituted to their office. Their service of ordination fully satisfies all the requirements of the visible side of the Orthodox Sacrament of Orders. The whole assembly of those who are performing the ordination lay their hands on the head of him who is to be instituted, and together with this the presiding "superintendent" pronounces the appointed prayer.[1] Accordingly the institution is accomplished by means of the imposition of hands, joined with prayer. The prayer in itself includes all those elements, which, from the Orthodox point of view are necessary for the accomplishment [of the Sacrament]. It usually begins with an address of supplication to the Lord God: it makes a clear indication as to who it is that is being instituted: it makes mention of the fact that he is being called to be a minister of the Word and Preacher of the Gospel, and finally prays of God that He would "endue him with the gifts of the Spirit," and would "communicate to him all the qualifications required for a fruitful fulfilment of so important a service," and would "abundantly bestow upon him the Holy Spirit".[2] The visible side of Lutheran ordinations, accordingly, is entirely sufficient, and does not give rise to any doubts. Why, then, is it that, in spite of all this, neither the Orthodox Eastern Church nor the Roman Catholic Church acknowledges, or ever has acknowledged, the Lutheran superintendents and pastors to be possessed of any hierarchial significance? Just because Lutheranism has preserved nothing but the external [side] of ordination, and has completely changed its inward signification. It has rejected the hierarchy in the sense of its being a body of men invested by God with special Divinely-bestowed powers, has excluded χειροτονία (Orders) from the number of the Sacraments, recognising in it

[1] Daniel. Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ universæ in epitomen redactus. Tom. ii. Codex liturgicus ecclesiæ lutheranæ. Cap. ix. De ordinatione et investitura, pp. 521, 529, 534, 539, 549, 551. Lipsiæ, 1848. Here are collected seven forms of Ordination of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth centuries.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 521, 529, 532-33, 540-42, 543, 554.

only a mere rite, while its spiritual pastors it regards merely as persons elected to perform certain official duties, but not as possessing any rights given them from above, or Divinely-bestowed qualifications, such as in their very essence would raise them above the rest of the faithful. It is self-evident that under conditions such as these, no matter how satisfactory the order of the Lutheran ordination services may be, there remains in them nothing but the external form, without its essential inward meaning. But a form without contents cannot, of course, have the requisite value.

"It pleased the Lord God, for the Sanctification of men, and in order to render their salvation possible, to bestow upon them certain means of grace, and at the same time to appoint the mode of their employment. It depends, of course, upon men themselves whether they will make use or not of these means which God has appointed. Grace is the gift of God, and like every gift, it may either be accepted or rejected. The man who accepts this gift may also enjoy its blessed fruits, but for the man who rejects it its fruits also are unattainable. So it ever was and still is with the Divinely-instituted ἱεραρχία (hierarchy) and Sacraments. Not all of those who believe in Christ the Saviour acknowledge the necessity and the grace-containing significance of the hierarchy; neither do all assign the significance of a Sacrament to the sacred laying-on of hands. It is self-evident that in not accepting this gift they deprive themselves of its fruits. In this sense the idea that a Sacrament takes place by the faith of the Church is perfectly correct.[1]

[1] "Khomiakoff," vol. ii., 134. The following is Khomiakoff's passage: "Mais aussi l'Eglise ne s'est jamais demandée quels sont les rapports du corps de notre Seigneur et des éléments terrestres de l'Eucharistie; car elle sait que l'action divine dans les sacrements ne s'arrête pas aux éléments, mais en fait des intermédiaires entre le Christ et son Eglise, dont la foi (je parle de toute l'Eglise et non des individus) fait la réalité du sacrement. Evidemment c'est ce que ni les romains ni les protestants ne peuvent plus comprendre, car ils ont perdu l'idée de la totalité de l'Eglise, et ne voient plus que les individus qui, disséminés ou agglomérés, n'en restent pas moins isolés. De là viennent leur erreur et leurs doutes, et les exigences scolastiques de leurs catéchismes. De là vient aussi qu'ils ont rejeté la prière, par laquelle l'Eglise a, dès les

The hierarchy can only be grace-[conferring], where not only the ritual [2] externals of the laying-on of hands are observed, but together with these the faith in its sacramental grace-giving significance is preserved. In the present case what we have to undertake in this investigation is to make it clear whether the Anglican Church has this belief or not.

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"Whatever may be said about the Thirty-nine Articles of Faith (*sic* [3]) they still remain up to now an exposition of faith recognised by the Anglican Church; their authority, resting upon the decrees both of Convocation and of Parliament, has unquestioned legal force, and agreement with them is of obligation required of everybody who enters the ministry of the Anglican Church. The very same Conference [4] which apparently to a certain extent minimised the significance of the Thirty-nine Articles, in not requiring obligatory agreement with them as a condition of union with the Anglican Church, at the same time confirmed their authority, placing them in the same line with the Book of Common Prayer, the Catechism, and the Ordinal, as one of those formulæ, which collectively serve as the expression of the Church's teaching. So long as the Articles of Faith (*sic*) occupy such a position, so long as the Anglican Church has not got rid of or altered them, the investigators of her teaching must of necessity have to reckon with them; and we in particular are obliged to pay special attention to what is said in them in one way or another upon the subject of the Sacrament of Orders. But although we do

premiers siècles, consacré les éléments terrestres, pour qu'ils deviennent corps et sang du Sauveur." [1]

[1] [Footnote to same.] De là vient que Bunsen et toute l'école à laquelle il appartient ne parviennent pas, malgré leur science, à comprendre les anciennes liturgies. Les Anglicans se doutent de la verité et ne peuvent cependant pas la saisir, parcequ'au fond ils ne parviennent pas à être quelque chose eux mêmes.

N.B.—In the Russian version this passage is: The Anglicans go round about the truth, and cannot seize it, because they are in general unable to define themselves in an ecclesiastical sense.—[W. J. B.]

[2] "Ritual" is here used in its technical sense, including "form" as well as "matter"; not in the mere sense of "ceremonial".—[W. J. B.]

[3] See Birkbeck's comment on page 279.—[A.R.]

[4] Lambeth Conference, 1888.

not consider that we have the right to minimise the importance of the Thirty-nine Articles, we are at the same time in complete agreement with the idea that the expositions of faith of one and the same Church must necessarily be explained by putting them together, in order that, if any sort of disagreement appears between them, by means of such a comparison it may be explained and got rid of. And to what result does such a putting together of the Book of Common Prayer and the Articles of Faith lead with regard to the question in which we are interested? The first of these expositions of faith assigns, as we know, to Orders all the marks of a Sacrament, but the second decisively declares that the Sacraments are two in number, and contains no sort of reference to Orders as a Sacrament. They tell us that the Twenty-fifth Article must be understood through the guidance of the teaching which is to be found in the Ordinal. But why are we to give preference in this case to that particular idea of the teaching concerning Orders which is shown in the Ordinal? We have no decisive grounds whatever for doing so. On the contrary, we remember certain facts in the religious history of England that occurred very lately, and which involuntarily give us reason for a certain amount of reflection. The Conference of 1888,[1] as we have already seen, minimises to a certain extent the importance of the Thirty-nine Articles, but, nevertheless, with respect to the Sacraments it openly endorses their teaching. In one of its resolutions, for example, it enumerates those points which, in its opinion, must form an indispensable ground of ecclesiastical union. Amongst these points we come upon the following: "The two Sacraments instituted by Christ Himself —Baptism and the Lord's Supper—which are accomplished by the unchangeable use of Christ's efficacious words and the elements ordained by Him". Of any other Sacrament not a word is said. This resolution is exactly reproduced in the Encyclical letter issued in the name of the Conference.[2] The question

[1] I.e. the Lambeth Conference of that year.—[A.R.]

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 386. The point stated is thus: "Sacramenta duo a Christo ipso instituta—Baptisma scilicet et cenam Domini—dummodo Christi verba in

involuntarily arises: Why did the Conference, in repeating the teaching of the Articles about two Sacraments, not consider it necessary to make some sort of addition such as would give some ground for thinking that one must understand and develop this teaching under the guidance of the Ordinal and of the Book of Common Prayer in general? The late reply of the Anglican Archbishops to the Bull of Leo XIII, written, according to its own declaration, with the purpose "to make it plain for all time what is our doctrine with regard to Holy Orders and the other matters connected with this subject,"[1] ought also, as it seems to us, to have given a final explanation with regard to this question. However, it did not. "The Pope," says the Archbishops' reply, "maintains that the Sacrament of Orders is denied and subverted by us." In respect to such a directly stated accusation, we might have expected an equally direct declaration that the Anglican Church does not reject the significance of Orders as a Sacrament. But any such declaration we do not find in this document, and the Primates of England do not once, in the name of their Church, speak of Orders as a Sacrament. Even the Book of Common Prayer itself, where the laying-on of hands is delineated with all the marks of a Sacrament, calls the rite only "ordering" and "consecration," and never once gives it the appellation of a Sacrament. Such silences unwillingly cause one to think that they have a special meaning, when we remember the clear declaration of the Twenty-fifth Article that there are two Sacraments. "The question," we are told, "is not as to whether we call Ordination a Sacrament (this is in its essence a question of words), but whether the Anglican Church understands under the laying-on of hands the same thing as the Roman Church understands under the Sacrament, and to such a question the answer must without doubt be in the affirmative."[2] It is quite true that it is really a question of words; but in the difficulty of deciding it, and in the es-

prima institutione usurpata, et elementa quibus ipse usus est semper usurpentur".

[1] *Responsio*, p. 8. [2] Lacey, *Church Review*, No. 1830, p. 726.

sential necessity of receiving an indubitable conviction of the soundness of this decision, one must inevitably have recourse to words, as the only available means we have in the present case of arriving with certainty at establishing the true sense of the question we have to investigate. Directly that we see on the one side the clear declaration in the Article that there are two Sacraments, and on the other side we meet with a persistent avoiding of the use of the word "Sacrament" in relation to Orders, the question naturally arises as to whether we have the right to explain the Twenty-fifth Article of Faith (*sic*) in that sense in which Orders are represented in the Ordinal? It may be that we ought to lead our interpretations in an exactly opposite direction—that is to say, to explain the Order of Ordination and Consecration under the guidance of the teaching of there being two Sacraments as laid down in this Article of Faith (*sic*). In this case we should, of course, have to come to the conclusion that the Anglican Church recognises only two Sacraments, and that the Order of Ordination and Consecration is nothing but a rite, although possessing in what it contains a very great deal that is analogous to the order of performing the Sacraments. This analogy, in our opinion, has not in itself any decisively convincing significance. We can point to a rite in the Orthodox Church which serves as a sufficient confirmation of the idea we have expressed—namely, the Office of the "Great Hallowing of Water on the Feast of the Theophany". In the contents of this rite, if we wish to, we may find all the marks of a Sacrament. The blessing of the water is here placed in direct connection with the sanctification of the waters of Jordan by the Lord Himself at His Baptism, and in the prayer pronounced silently by the priest mention is made even of the "Divine promise" united with water. The visible side consists of the matter of blessed water and the calling down in prayer of the grace of the Holy Ghost upon it, which is expressed with special emphasis by the priest: "Do Thou Thyself, then, O King that lovest mankind, come now also by the infusion of Thy Holy Spirit, and sanctify this water": "Do Thou Thyself now also, O Lord, sanctify

this water by Thy Holy Spirit". And lastly, mention is frequently made in this office of the saving and grace-giving action of the blessed water upon all who make use of it. And yet, in spite of all these appearances, we do not reckon the Great Hallowing of the Water to be a Sacrament, for the Orthodox Church clearly states: "We believe that in the Church there are Sacraments of the Gospel, seven in number. Neither less nor more than this number of Sacraments have we in the Church."[1] "They are as follows: Baptism, Chrism, the Eucharist, Penance, Orders, honourable Marriage, and Unction of the Sick."[2] Whatever marks of a Sacrament the office of the Great Hallowing of the Water may contain, so soon as the Church says that there are seven Sacraments, and clearly enumerates them, we have an indubitable assurance that it is not a Sacrament, but only a simple rite. But who can assure us that the Anglican Order of Ordination and Consecration is not only a rite, although it has the appearance of a Sacrament? Inward marks alone, included in the contents of the Office of Ordination, in the present case, we do not consider it posssible to recognise as sufficient. The question is one of such importance, that, in our opinion, it is impossible to ground its solution exclusively upon the results of a scientific analysis of the Order of Consecration and Ordination. Some such guarantee as would have an entirely incontrovertible character is indispensable. According to the belief of the Orthodox Church "Sacraments are instruments which necessarily act by grace upon those who come to them".[3] In this unfailing action of Divine grace is included the great pre-eminence of the Sacraments and their essential distinction from rites in which, although the grace of God be invoked with prayer, there nevertheless is no certain assurance that it actually is communicated.[4] Hence the great importance will be understood of the solution of the question as to whether the Anglican Office of Ordination and Consecra-

[1] Letter of the Patriarchs. Art. xv.

[2] *Orthodox Confession*, Answer to Question 98.

[3] Letter of the Patriarchs. Art. xv. Macarius, iv., 93; v., 46, 48-49. Justin, ii., 333.

[4] Ignatius, on the Sacraments, p. 38, 39 [and four other Russian authors].

tion is a Sacrament, or only a rite. The question evidently comes to this: Is Divine grace undoubtedly communicated to those persons who receive the laying-on of hands according to the Anglican Order of Consecration and Ordination, or not? Consequently it will not be possible to speak of the grace-giving significance of the hierarchy in the Anglican Church, until it shall be established beyond all doubt that she acknowledges the laying-on of hands to be a Sacrament. It is self-evident that, in order to be assured of this, those somewhat precarious scientific deductions which may be extracted from an investigation into the Anglican Office of Ordination and Consecration are insufficient. It is indispensable, we repeat, that there should be some such guarantee as would have an entirely incontrovertible character. But where can we find such a guarantee? Only, it seems to us, in the voice of the Anglican Church herself. Her belief is in question—it is asked whether she acknowledges Orders to be a Sacrament or only a rite. And who is there, except it be she herself, that can testify with regard to her own belief? In her expositions of faith which exist down to the present there is, as we have seen, some want of correspondence, and in general her teaching upon this subject is set forth so unclearly that from an Orthodox point of view it leaves room for doubt. If the Anglican Church wishes to remove this doubt we would ask her to bring her expositions of belief into complete agreement with one another, and to explain her teaching with regard to Orders, and the Sacraments in general.

"It is not, of course, for us to indicate to her the way to do this, but it seems to us that it is clear to everybody who is acquainted with the contemporary circumstances of Anglican Church life. Thirty years ago the provincial Church Council in Canada conceived the idea that for the benefit of the Anglican Church it would be extremely useful for the representatives of her various branches, scattered in all parts of the world, to meet together some time for the maintenance of brotherly unity and for the collective discussion of any general Church question which might arise. This idea, placed before the Primate of

England, Archbishop Longley, received the approval of the Convocation of Canterbury, and quickly was carried out. At the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, seventy-six Bishops of England, Scotland, Ireland, America, Australia, New Zealand, and the various other Colonies assembled at the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, and thus the first Lambeth Conference was opened in September, 1867, that is to say, the first common assembly in Council of the Bishops of the Anglican Church. Some ten years later, in 1878, under Archbishop Tait, once more at the initiative of the Province of Canada, the second Lambeth Conference took place, which over a hundred Bishops attended. From that time it became a regular custom that this Pan-Anglican Council should meet every ten years, and the Conference of 1878 itself appointed the next Conference to meet in 1888. Agreeably with this, the third Conference took place in July, 1888, under Archbishop Benson, in which as many as 145 Bishops took part. Gradually, in the deliberations of these assemblies such an order was developed that programmes of questions were drawn up beforehand, and then these questions were submitted to the treatment of special committees formed out of the Bishops attending the Conference, after which the reports of the Committees were submitted to the judgment of general meetings of the Conference, which delivered its decisions upon them. Finally, the results of the deliberations were issued in the form of an encyclical letter addressed to all the faithful. The two first Conferences, evidently not as yet fully confident in their success, tried to act with all possible guardedness, confining themselves entirely to questions of Church practice, and purposely not touching upon doctrinal subjects. But the Conference of 1888, it appears, already so fully realised the strength of its position and its established authority, that it boldly concerned itself with questions of the Church's teaching, laying down decisions upon its sources, upon forms of exposition of the faith, upon the Sacraments, etc. Every one will certainly say that these now firmly established and properly summoned Pan-Anglican Councils may with perfect right be called the representatives of their

Church and competent exponents of her views. Bishops from all ends of the world assemble at them as witnesses of the faith of the Church committed to their charge, and therefore the decrees of the Lambeth Conference, may, in our opinion, with sufficient ground be acknowledged as the voice of the whole Anglican Church.

"At the present time the day is approaching for the meeting of the Fourth Lambeth Conference, which has been summoned in July of the present year 1897. If the examples of the previous Conferences show that with every ten years the number of its members increase more and more, we may conclude that the present Pan-Anglican Council will in numbers and solemnity far exceed its predecessors. The time of its assembly coincides with notable jubilee festivities, both of the Anglican Church and of the British Monarchy. The Church will celebrate the Jubilee of the 1300th year of the arrival in England of St. Augustine with his missionaries, the conversion to Christianity of the Kentish King, Ethelbert, with his Kingdom, and the foundation of the See of Canterbury; while the British Monarchy is celebrating the completion of the sixtieth year of the reign of its venerated Queen. These solemnities will without doubt, show their influence upon the present Conference, and will give it special brilliancy and importance. It is just this Conference which, as it seems to us, might turn its attention specially to the explanation of the teaching of the Anglican Church as regards the Sacraments in general and Orders in particular. Its competent voice is capable of removing that doubt which troubles the Orthodox people of the East. Anglican divines assure us that their Church, in setting forth its teaching about two Sacraments, has only in view to express the idea that these Sacraments have a pre-eminent importance and a visible sign instituted by Christ the Saviour Himself; but that, together with these, she has always acknowledged, and still acknowledges, that the remaining five are also Sacraments, which, although they have less importance, also necessarily communicate Divine grace. If this assurance of theirs corresponds with the real facts, the Anglican

Church, at her Council, has the full possibility, if, of course, she wishes to do so, to declare that she always has believed, and still does believe so, and that she confesses it in the hearing of all. By such a declaration that which from the Orthodox point of view is by far the principal hindrance to the recognition of the validity of the Anglican hierarchy would be removed; and, in our opinion, as we shall show later on, this hindrance may really be acknowledged to be the only one which exists.

V. Sokoloff."

CHAPTER XXIV.

RUSSIAN ICONS AND THEIR USE IN THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.[1]

If there is one feature more than another by which we Englishmen, by the common consent of friend and foe, are distinguished from other nations of Europe, I think it may be safely said, that we as a nation are the nation *par excellence* of travellers. From one cause or another, there are few Englishmen belonging to the educated classes, who if time and circumstances permit, do not spend a certain portion of every year away from the immediate surroundings of their daily life. Moreover, we are possessed of another peculiarity, that, more distinctly than any other nation which possesses a history of its own, we like to take our annual holiday abroad. Indeed, to us Englishmen, the word "abroad" has come to have a meaning all its own. There is, I believe, no exact equivalent in any foreign language which, while reproducing its literal meaning, at the same time expresses the ideas which this word in the process of linguistic evolution has come to represent to the globe-trotter.

Probably, next to ourselves, there is no European nation which as far as the upper classes are concerned, takes such an eager and intelligent pleasure in foreign travel as do the Russians, about one branch of whose ecclesiastical art I am going to speak to-night. And yet, in spite of this, and in spite of the fact that there is one class of Russian travellers which, while avoiding John Bull's besetting sin of looking down upon all things foreign as beneath contempt, is inclined rather to take them as the panacea for all evils and as such to laud them

[1] This essay was found in MS. amongst my friend's papers. It was probably delivered, but when and where I have not been able to discover.—[A.R.]

to the skies at the expense of his native country, the Russian language itself, which, by the universal consent of those who know it, is admitted to be one of the richest, most versatile and most expressive of modern languages has no exact equivalent. "To take a journey abroad" in Russia can be expressed only by some such paraphrase as "to journey or wander beyond the frontier"—*jékhatj* or *stranstvobatj za granitzy*. If we turn to the two principal languages of Western Continental Europe, we find the word "abroad" represented in the French Dictionary by *au large* or *dehors*, and "to be abroad" will be translated by *courir*, or *se repander:* the German Dictionary gives us the much more prosaic *draussen* or *umher:* while with Latin we have *foris* or "out of doors, in the open air". None of these, in their ordinary sense at least, represent exactly the idea conveyed by our expression, "abroad".

And yet I think that the French and Latin terms which correspond to its literal meaning of our word "abroad," while they do not (as a certain school of thought would probably maintain) furnish a natural explanation of the causes which lead Englishmen to travel, at least suggest a practical object for which their journeys may well be undertaken. *Apes foris pascuntur, intus opus faciunt.* The bees feed abroad, and work inside the hive. This is true, and yet without going abroad the bee would not be what he is, while his work would be worthless. England has often been described as an overcrowded hive. In that case it must be good for its inhabitants to disport themselves *au large* in foreign countries, and of all foreign countries, that which I would recommend first to ecclesiastically and ecclesiologically minded bees is the great Russian Empire. Not only will they find there the greatest national Christian Church which the world has yet seen, numbering at least seventy-two millions of souls, but from the moment they cross the frontier they will meet at every step the visible emblems of its presence, and of the part which it plays in the life of the nation.

The great change which meets the eye at every turn upon crossing the Western frontier of Russia has often been dwelt

upon. Novelists and travellers have again and again described the station at Wisballen, from the platform of which at the one end may be seen the red brick church of Eydtkuhen with its characteristic if rather poor German gothic spire, and at the other end the blue star-bespangled dome of the first Orthodox Church on the Russian side of the frontier. But I think that what strikes the foreigner most, when he emerges from the ordeal of the custom-house, and makes his way into the justly belauded *buffet* where he has to wait until the train is ready to start again, is the presence of a large sacred picture in the corner of the room with a lamp burning in front of it. And from that moment until he recrosses the frontier, so long as he is under a Russian roof he will never be out of sight of these visible evidences of the nation's belief in the Christian Faith. In Germany and very often also in England you may enter a strange house, and you may come out again without knowing whether its owner is a Christian or an infidel. In a Russian house this is impossible. In every room you will find in the corner an icon, either of the Saviour or of the Mother of God, or of some one or more of the Saints. And this custom is not confined to private houses. You will find the same thing in the public buildings : in the rooms of the offices of the various Government Departments, in the shops, in the railway stations, in the cabins and dining saloons of the steamers, in the bazaars, and in fact in any place where men meet to transact the ordinary business of life. No foreigner, who has travelled in the smaller steamers about the lakes and rivers of the northern part of Russia can have failed to be struck by the manner in which everybody in the cabin, before he settles himself for the night turns to the icon and performs his evening devotions, and the same thing when he rises in the morning. As for private houses, they all from the palace to the humblest cottage are provided with them. If you enter a room without an icon you may be sure that the house belongs to a foreigner; and even then (unless he be a Jew) if you descend to those regions of the house which are inhabited by the servants, the icon will be there : for the Russian lower classes, although wonder-

fully tolerant towards those who do not belong to their Church are—as all who know them will bear witness—extremely particular with regard to their own religion: and looking upon it, not as a sort of expensive and unpleasant luxury to be indulged in once in seven days, and then to be packed up together with their Sunday clothes until next week, but as the constant companion of their daily life and part of the atmosphere in which they live, they naturally like to have some visible symbol of their faith always in sight. Indeed, if you wish to have Russian servants in your house, the icon is a *sine qua non;* and anybody who has lived in the country for any time would no more dream of asking them to live in rooms without it, than in England he would ask his servants to live in rooms constructed like the monkey house at the Zoo. It is a dreadful moment, no doubt, for a poor John Bull of Puritan proclivities who has built a new house in Russia, when the parish priest arrives in his cloth of gold canonicals, with incense, holy water, and candle, in the beautiful prayer appointed by the Russian Church for such an occasion, and asks of the Lord that He may enter this new house and bless it and all that shall dwell within it with His presence, even as He once entered and brought salvation unto the house of Zacchæus. But he has not only to put up with this; the priest indeed takes his departure when the ceremony is over, but the icon remains, the visible emblem of this solemn invitation, and of the belief that such prayers are accepted by God. In every room there is the icon or image either of the Saviour, or of one or other of those who were, and are still nearest and dearest to Him. And is there anything so very dreadful in all this? Isn't it, after all, a perfectly natural and logical expression of Christian Faith? I do not mean to say, for a moment, that every uneducated Russian peasant who has an image in the most prominent corner of his wooden cottage, has the same clear idea of the *rationale* of his devotion that I have given to-night. To maintain any such impossibility would be on the face of it an absurdity, and the warmest defender in Russia of his country's religion would never make such an assertion.

Still the principle is there, and as we shall see further on, the whole relation of the icons, on the one hand, to that which they represent, and on the other, to those for whose use they are intended is so clearly defined in the formularies of the Church, that there can be no doubt whatsoever, that in general they produce that effect upon the people which is intended by the Church. Abuses and superstitions have of course arisen in Russia, as elsewhere, in connection with the worship of the sacred images: but I am not going to talk about these to-night, inasmuch as they, like the existence of evil itself, in the world, are of the accidence and not of the essence of the subject. Suffice it to say that the Church did not, in sanctioning their use, overlook the possibility of this objection to the use of the sacred images in her worship. On the contrary, when the iconoclastic controversy first arose, and the heretical party objected to the images on the ground of the peril of idolatry, and quoted the Mosaic Law against them, St. John Damascene replied: "It seemed a dreadful thing indeed to me, that the Church which has shone with such pre-eminence, and has ever been graced by the traditions of such holy men, should now *return to the beggarly elements of the Mosaic Law*, and there *be brought into great fear, where no fear was*: just as if she having once known the incarnate God, should fear a relapse into idolatry, and should thus be deprived in the least degree of her perfection." With regard to all such dangers the only rational line to take is that which St. Methodius of Constantinople suggested. A treatise by him which has lately been discovered in an ancient Greek MS. in the Patriarchal Library at Moscow, and which was written by him against the Bishops who took part in the Iconoclastic Council held under the Emperor Constantine Copronymus contains the following passage which seems to me very much to the point.

"You say," he says, "that this veneration of the images has made gods of them? But it is you yourselves who ought to teach the people in what way it is befitting to honour them. For supposing that some villager or country boor were to meet a servant of the King, and should worship him (προσκυνησῇ)

as if he were the King himself, and should say to him 'Have mercy on me, most gracious Majesty,' would you order that both the servant who received this homage and the man who offered it should be punished with death (on a charge of *lése majesté*)? Certainly not, inasmuch as he did it in ignorance. But it is the business of those who know to explain to the inexperienced that this is not the King; inasmuch as the King lives in his palace and no one sees him except at such times as he chooses to show himself outside. And so you ought to teach those who in ignorance make a god of an image of Christ, that it is not Christ in the flesh, but only an image of Him. For Christ is in heaven, and no man seeth Him, so far as I know, until He shall appear in His second coming to judge the world. And this they would certainly understand, and would regulate their worship accordingly. For this is what Bishops are meant for, namely to teach the people how to believe and pray."

This is the line that was taken by one of the chief defenders of the sacred images in the early years of the ninth century: and it certainly applies just as well at the present day as it did then. Indeed the iconoclastic controversy which convulsed the whole Church of the Eastern Empire for more than a century forced the Orthodox Church to investigate the whole subject much more fully than has ever been done in the West, and accordingly, while we have no important difference of principle between East and West in the matter (for the clumsy and ignorant opposition of Charlemagne at the Council of Frankfort to the decrees of the Seventh General Council, although sometimes used as a weapon against Rome by Protestants, seems to have hardly survived his death) there can be no doubt that the use of images, both in the regular services of the church, and in the popular religion of the people, reached at an early period to a very much higher stage of development than it has ever done in the West. The services of the Eastern Church remain practically just as St. John Damascene left them: and accordingly, inasmuch as the whole system of public worship stands or falls with the principle underlying it, the controversy on the question of the holy

images has remained just where it was in his day. There is nothing more to be said against them now than was said by the iconoclasts in the eighth and ninth centuries, and there was not one point in which these objections were not completely refuted by St. John Damascene or in which his arguments, fortified by the decisions of the Seventh General Council in their favour, do not hold good at the present day. Although St. John Damascene was not a Russian but a Greek, he is the obvious person to go to in order to understand the present doctrine and practice of the Russian Church in the matter; every bit as much so, as St. Athanasius is the obvious person for us English Churchmen to appeal to against Unitarianism, Robert Elsmerism, or, if we are to mention the latest name under which the ancient foe of Christianity has turned up—the religion of Undenominational Christianity of which we have heard so much on the London School Board.[1] I shall therefore ask your kind indulgence if I give some somewhat lengthy extracts from his three orations in defence of the holy images, and I have the less hesitation in doing so, inasmuch as, when I wrote the other day to a friend in St. Petersburg to send me the latest literature which had appeared in Russia upon the subject, he sent me an excellent translation into Russian which has appeared within the last few months, of these very orations, as the very best thing that could be said upon the subject.

The history of the iconoclastic controversy is much too long to go into. Apart from the immediate matter in discussion it was an organised attempt of the Byzantine Emperors to assert their absolute authority over the Church in matters spiritual. Within the Byzantine Empire itself, the Church, being at the mercy of the army which was almost exclusively drawn from the Monophysites and other heretical bodies of the Eastern parts of the Empire, could do nothing but offer a passive resistance: and the Greek Church Calendar to this

[1] A controversy which began in 1892 and culminated in the London School Board election of 1894; this gives us the approximate date of the essay. —[A.R.]

day bears witness to the number of Martyrs and Confessors who suffered in the cause of the Church's liberty. The Pope, Gregory II, strenuously supported the Orthodox party in the matter, but chiefly on the ground of the practical utility of the images as books for the unlearned: while his letters to the Emperor hardly helped matters, more especially as they displayed extraordinary ignorance of Biblical history, as, for instance, where he confuses Hezekiah with Uzziah, and speaks of God punishing the latter for laying sacrilegious hands upon the Brazen serpent. But at Damascus there lived at this time a young and learned layman, who although a Christian, occupied a high post at the court of the Mohammedan Caliph, and was therefore in a position to defy the authority of the Emperor. This was St. John Damascene. He raised the whole controversy into an altogether higher atmosphere. He saw that the iconoclasm of the Emperor, although nominally directed against the so-called superstitious use of images, was in reality only a last attack upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, of the same nature as the heresies of Arius, Nestorius, and Eutyches, combined with Judaising tendencies in the direction of a return to the bondage of the Mosaic Law, and a Manicheanising depreciation of matter, as if all matter originated in evil. It is curious to see, as I have already said, how all the arguments employed on the side of the iconoclasts were much the same as those which are now advanced by the Puritan party in England. The second commandment was, of course, the first point urged. To this St. John replied that Moses himself supplied the answer, when he reminded the Israelites that when God spake unto them from the midst of the fire, they saw no similitude but only heard a voice: but that now that the Word had been made flesh, without change, remaining that which He was, so also the Flesh has been made the Word, that which it is not having been destroyed, but rather becoming one with the Word by hypostasis. "Therefore without fear I make an image of the invisible God, not as invisible, but as having for our sakes been made visible by sharing flesh and blood with us. I make an image of the in-

visible God, not as invisible, but as for our sakes having been made visible by sharing flesh and blood with us. I do not make an image of the invisible Godhead, but of the flesh of God which has been seen of man."

Then we come across our old friend, the difference between a Cross and a Crucifix. For it is worth observing, that the cross has long been given a relative worship in the Church and that the antiphon "We worship thy Cross, O Lord, and praise and glorify Thy holy Resurrection" which subsequently found its way also into the Western service books was already in use in the East. But now it was asserted that while a cross was harmless, a figure of the Saviour upon it was idolatrous. To this St. John Damascene contemptuously replied that he who shall swear by heaven, sweareth by the throne of God and Him that sitteth thereon. There is indeed one subtilty of the Puritan mind in England which the iconoclasts do not seem to have arrived at: and that is the difference between a crucifix and a historical representation of the Crucifixion. But the reason of this, and, as I have found, the best answer to it is, that this difference is beyond the subtilty of the Greek language to express. If you ask your opponent to put "crucifix" and "representation of the crucifixion" into Greek preserving the distinction which is supposed to exist between them, he will, *experto crede*, very soon relinquish the attempt.

The whole doctrine, after all, is perfectly reasonable. It amounts to nothing more than the worthy Norwich doctor Sir Thomas Browne meant, when he said "At the sight of a Cross or Crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour". There are innumerable ways in which we, in ordinary life, act upon the principle of the Seventh General Council. What is bowing to the sovereign but relative worship to authority derived from God? But what the Seventh Council secured was perfect liberty in this respect. When once the difference between the two worships was defined, it was impossible that members of the Church which acknowledged it should fall into idolatry. I remember once having a talk on the subject with a Lutheran pastor in the

Baltic Provinces, who poured out his grief to me on hearing that the Protestant Emperor of Germany, while the guest of the Emperor of Russia, kissed the cross at the end of a service at which the colours of a regiment had been blessed. I said, that I couldn't see the difference between this and kissing the book of the New Testament in a law-court. He replied, "But I should never do such a thing, we Protestants read, but do not kiss the Bible; that would be idolatry". And yet a few minutes afterwards, when he took me into his church, as he entered it, he took his hat off. But how can you defend this except you explain "thou shalt worship before His footstool" in the sense of the Seventh General Council?

But now having mentioned how inextricably the icons are connected with the ordinary religious life of the Russians, and what exactly they represent in the Russian Church from a dogmatic point of view, I shall say a few words upon their arrangement in the Russian Churches, and shall conclude by mentioning the special historical as well as religious significance which many individual icons possess.

For both of these points, I cannot do better than take the Cathedral of the Assumption (or Repose) of the Mother of God at Moscow, where the Tzars have from the beginning been crowned. And I shall begin by quoting from Muravieff, the description of the iconostasis which the well-known Metropolitan Philaret gave to the late Emperor Alexander II when as Tzarevitch he visited this well-known sanctuary:—

"The first thing which your Imperial Highness will observe with regard to this Cathedral, is that, as being the central church of all Russia it includes within itself the complete idea of the Universal Church. . . . Let us examine the iconostasis (which like all the earlier iconostases of Russia is divided horizontally into several tiers or stages). In the uppermost tier, you will see that the earliest Church of God, down to the time of the delivery of the law of Moses, is represented: but together with this, we have that which connects this Church with that of the New Testament for the series of forefathers and patriarchs Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham, Isaac

and Jacob appear on each side of the icon of the Lord of Sabaoth from whose bosom is born the Word, begotten of His Father before all worlds. On the next tier is represented the Church of the Old Testament, from Moses to Christ, of whom it was the figure and type: and accordingly in the midst we find the icon of the Sign of the Mother of God.

"It is called the Sign of the Mother of God, inasmuch as it represents a prophecy made at a time when the Eternal Son was not as yet born upon earth, but as yet had only been borne witness to and spoken of by the prophets, who are represented on either side of this icon, with scrolls containing their Messianic prophecies in their hands; in such a manner both the eternal generation of the Son and His birth late in time upon earth are mysteriously and profoundly represented.[1] In the tier below we have the twelve great Feasts of the Church, in which the story of the Gospel is represented, the fulfilment of the desire of the forefathers and of the visions of the prophets. On the fourth row (immediately above the Royal Doors) we have a representation of the Christian Church itself; and accordingly the Saviour is depicted sitting in the midst on a throne, in the form of the everlasting High Priest making intercession for our sins: on each side of Him stand His pure Mother and St. John Baptist, the Forerunner, as two representatives of human perfection and nearest intercessors before Him on our behalf: the one, 'more honourable than the Cherubim, and beyond all comparison more glorious than the Seraphim': the other, according to the words of the Lord Himself, the 'greatest of all those that are born of women'. This position of theirs in an attitude of prayer, is commonly termed 'Deisus' from the Greek word δέησις, 'prayer': and on each side of them are ranged all the apostles beginning with their two chiefs SS. Peter and Paul as preachers of the doctrine of Christ and builders of His Church. Thus all the gradual growth of that Church is depicted beginning from

[1] In this beautiful icon, constantly seen in Russia, the Blessed Virgin is represented with her hands extended and the Divine Child in a majesty within her breast.—[A.R.]

above and descending below upon the inner wall of the nave, which has taken the place of the mystic veil of Solomon's temple which was rent in twain at the hour of our Redemption."

The Metropolitan then went on to point out the four central pillars of the Church, upon which are represented the martyrs whose blood has been the strength of the Church, the royal gates in the iconostasis, on which, as always in Orthodox Churches, are icons of the Annunciation and the four Evangelists, the General Councils on the South Wall, the last Judgment on the West, and then proceeded to explain the historical as well as religious significance of the icons upon each side of the royal gates. It would be too long to go through them all, although each one of them represents some stage in the growth of the Russian nation and the centralisation of Church and State round Moscow, and nothing can bring home to the mind more clearly what the Church has been and still is to Russia than tracing them back through history. Let us take, for instance, the most venerated of all those contained in the Cathedral, namely that known as the Vladimir Mother of God. This famous icon, one of those which tradition reports to have been painted by the Evangelist St. Luke was first brought from Constantinople by the Grand Duke Andrew Bogolinbski, and placed in the Cathedral of the Assumption in his new capital Vladimir, some 200 miles to the East of Moscow, hence the name by which the icon is known. When Tamerlane was advancing upon Moscow in the time of the Grand Duke Basil, the Metropolitan Cyprian sent for this famous image to Vladimir, and met it just outside the then walls of Moscow, where the Monastery of the Purification was afterwards erected in commemoration of the event, and in allusion to the meeting of the Virgin Mother and Child by the aged Simeon. The same day for no apparent reason the armies of Tamerlane turned back, and without striking a blow returned to the east side of the Volga. In commemoration of this event this sacred picture is still carried every year upon the anniversary in solemn procession to the spot where the Metropolitan first met it. This will just give

one example of the historical importance of the various icons in Moscow and other parts of the country, and will serve to show how it has come to pass that the religious and patriotic instincts of the nation are so closely connected. Surely a standard which contains at once the most sacred and the most patriotic associations of a nation is a glorious and grand ideal, and if we consider that the icon carried into battle, or brought back after victory, represents to the Russian Army, very much what the Ark of the Covenant represented to the army of Joshua, we shall perhaps understand more fully what strength Russia has gained from her national Faith, of which the sacred images are the outward and visible symbol in her great wars in the defence of that Faith. And if we remember that it was she that bore the whole brunt of the Tartar invasions for several centuries and thereby saved Western Europe, with its arts and civilisation, and the significance of her sacred pictures in this struggle against the infidel, we shall not withhold either from Russia herself, or her great and glorious Church that sympathy and gratitude, which is undoubtedly their due.

CHAPTER XXV.

A VISIT TO GALICIA.

In the winter of 1912 Birkbeck conducted an episcopal deputation to Russia consisting of Bishop Eden of Wakefield, Bishop Williams of Bangor, Bishop Robertson of Exeter, and Bishop Bernard of Ossory (Ireland). He writes as follows to Lord Halifax :—

Dughino,
29 *January*/11 *February*, 1912.

"My dear Halifax,—

"You will have been expecting to hear from me : but I have been so frightfully busy that I haven't known what to do. It has been a very interesting time indeed and I am very glad that I came. The visit of the Deputation was altogether a great success, and when one heard Englishmen being cheered in the street, it was hardly possible to realise that it was the same Russia where we were so unpopular six years ago. We were six days in Petersburg and five in Moscow, with every minute of every day filled up from morning till night.

"I got on very well with my Bishops. . . . The Bishop of Wakefield was genial and warm-hearted, and made very happy little speeches wherever it was wanted : fortunately he was the senior Bishop and so took the lead. The Bishop of Exeter was scholarly and intelligent, and spoke with great effect at the Ecclesiastical Academy : and Ossory was most charming. . . .

"The copes and mitres did not come off.[1] There was really no suitable occasion. We only went to one great Liturgy in St. Petersburg, and at that there was the Consecration of a Bishop by twelve other Bishops and places were provided for

[1] Birkbeck means that they did not go on !—[A.R.]

our Bishops in the front of the Royal Doors with four red velvet seats which the Emperor particularly ordered to be provided for them in case they were tired of standing. I asked the Russian authorities how they would like them to be robed, and they said in their cassocks and crosses, and under the circumstances it was the obvious thing.

. . . . . .

"I am quite frightened at being made so much of. At the station there were shouts of 'Ivan Vassilievich' (John, son of William, my Russian name), when I appeared; and walking across the Nevsky from the Hotel to the banquet of the Town Hall the crowd shouted 'Our Ivan Vassilievich,' 'the old friend of Russia,' 'the friend of the Orthodox Church,' etc., etc. The Emperor was awfully kind, said that I had stayed away too long, and asked me to come and see him again before I go away. I shall stay at Moscow until the end of the first week in Lent, and then go back to St. Petersburg and stay there till I get an audience.

"I am now staying with an old friend of mine, Prince Alexander Meshchesky, in a huge house built at the end of the eighteenth century, about as big as Houghton[1] only later in style. He inherited the property from his mother, one of the last descendants of Count Panin, to whom Catherine the Great gave the property after he put down the Pugatcheff rebellion. It is full of old pictures, a library of books given by Catherine, etc. I am in a palatial suite of rooms and am being treated *en prince*. I stay here till Wednesday and then return to Moscow, Hotel National, and on 25 February to St. Petersburg, Hotel d'Europe.

"I won't write more now, though there is heaps to tell you, but the bells are ringing for church and I must be off.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"W. J. Birkbeck."

On Birkbeck's return to England he found a correspondence proceeding in *The Times* between Count

[1] Houghton Hall, built by Sir Robert Walpole, now the property of the Marquess of Cholmondeley.—[A.R.]

A. Bobrinsky, Prince Paul Sapiéha, and Mr. Stepankowsky on religious persecution in Galicia. He resolved to investigate the matter on the spot and shortly afterwards left England for this purpose. On his return he wrote a letter to *The Times* of which the following paper is an amplification, subsequently published :—

Religious Persecution in Galicia.

In *The Times* of 10 April there appeared a letter, under the above heading, from a member of the Russian Imperial Duma, the Count A. Bobrinsky, in which a state of things was described which it seemed, to say the least, difficult to reconcile with those principles of absolute freedom of conscience which are incorporated in the formularies of the Austrian Constitution of 1867. In the course of a few days two replies appeared from natives of Galicia, in each of which "every line" and "all details" of Count Bobrinsky's letter were declared to be "false" and "contrary to truth".

It was quite evident to anyone in the least conversant with contemporary Galician local politics that the writers of these letters, Prince Paul Sapiéha, a Polish landowner, and Mr. Stepankowsky, a Ruthenian, belonged respectively to the Polish and Ukrainophil[1] parties. These parties are divided from one another on many fundamental questions; for while each of them would like to set up, at the expense of Austria and Russia, an independent State reaching from the Carpathians to the Caucasus, the Ukrainophil party are not as anxious as the Polish party think that they ought to be that it should take the shape of a restoration of the old Polish Republic, with East Galicia, Volhynia and the other Little Russian portions

[1] From the Russian word *Ukraina*, which signifies a borderland. In this case the Ukraine referred to is that part of Russia which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, constituted the debatable borderland, or, as we should say, marches, between Muscovy and Poland, and the Khanate of the Crimean Tartars.

of it dominated over, as large portions of them were of old, by a selfish and irresponsible Polish nobility. But they are always to be found united when any matter, secular or religious, arises in which their common hatred of Russia and all things Russian can find expression. As these two writers, as well as Count Bobrinsky, each of them expressed a wish in *The Times* that some Englishman should go to Galicia, and, by investigating the matter on the spot, should judge between them for the benefit of the British public, I took upon myself to do so, and accordingly spent the first part of a two months' journey in the East of Europe, from which I have just returned, amongst the cities and villages of Galicia.

It may be well first of all to state that, in addition to about 4,500,000 of Poles, and 1,000,000 of Jews, and some 200,000 Germans, Galicia is inhabited, chiefly in its Eastern part, by 3,500,000 Russians belonging to the Southern, or Little Russian, branch of the Russian people. In order to distinguish them from their brethren in the Russian Empire, it became customary in Austria in about the middle of the nineteenth century, but not, I think, before this, to call them (from their Latin name) Ruthenians, and, for convenience, I shall do so in this paper. But (*pace* Mr. Stepankowsky) "Ruthenian" is only Latin for "Russian," and for their own part they call themselves "Russians". It is true that for this a Ruthenian man uses the word *Rusin*, and not *Russki*; but Mr. Stepankowsky ought to know that this word is by no means confined to Galicia, or even to the Little Russians, but is used as well in several parts of Great Russia; for instance, I have observed this in some parts of the Archangel and Olenetz Governments, where I travelled in 1889. Moreover, while a Ruthenian man calls himself *Rusin* instead of *Russki*, a Ruthenian woman calls herself *Russka*, as does her sister in Great Russia; so that if Mr. Stepankowsky's contention amounts to anything, it would seem that at least the Ruthenian women are Russians, even if their husbands and sons are not. I can, anyhow, as far as Galicia is concerned, where Mr. Stepankowsky tells the readers of *The Times* that "there are no Russians," and

"no Russian language is spoken," say that, while travelling amongst them, I frequently heard the common people use the ordinary Russian expressions *nasha Rusj* ("our Russia") and *Rusj svjatája* ("holy Russia"), which expressions they use, not in a territorial or political, but in a racial sense,[1] and which may be amply accounted for by their past history. They originally formed an integral part of the Russian monarchy at the period, from the tenth century onwards, when its centre was at Kieff, and with the rest of the Russian nation they were converted to Christianity by Greek missionaries in the year A.D. 988 or shortly afterwards. They remained politically a part of Russia until they were conquered by the Poles under Casimir the Great in 1340. They still remained ecclesiastically in full communion with the Russian and Greek Churches until the end of the sixteenth century, when the Polish Government, under the influence of the notorious Jesuit Skarga, Court Chaplain to Sigismond III. persuaded most of their Bishops,[2] some of them by promises, others by threats, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. This is the origin of the Uniate Church in these parts, which, while in communion with Rome, and accepting Roman dogma, still retains the Eastern rite, the services continuing to be performed in the old Slavonic language, just as they are in Russia and in other Orthodox Slavonic States. The Bishops in the sixteenth century made their submission to Rome on condition that their Orthodox Eastern rite should remain unchanged; but from the very first this promise was constantly broken, and the whole subsequent history of this Church has been a record of Jesuits and Poles from time to time attempting to Latinise these services, and of dogged resistance on the part of almost the whole of the laity and the greater part of the parochial clergy to these innovations. The present crisis in Galicia is due to renewed efforts in the direction of Latinisation, the way for which has been prepared

[1] Just as the French in Canada may speak of themselves, their language and their culture as *Français*, without implying thereby that they either are, or desire to become, the subjects of the French Republic.

[2] The See of Lemberg itself held out against the Union with Rome until the year 1700.

during the last thirty years by the authorities at Rome, owing to certain influences, having placed the training of the novitiate of the monastic order of the Basilians and the seminaries of the clergy into the hands of the Jesuits or their creatures.

Before I left England I had provided myself with introductions such as could get me into touch with the clergy and peasantry of the Ruthenian villages. But these I made no use of for six days after my arrival in Galicia—which days I spent in the churches of Cracow and Lemberg, in order to form my own impressions of the ecclesiastical situation. As these days included the Latin (New Style) feast of the Assumption, and the Eastern Uniate (Old Style) feast of the Transfiguration, as well as a Sunday and the Emperor of Austria's birthday, I had abundant opportunity of attending a large variety of extraordinarily well-attended services; so that, besides several of the ordinary Roman or Latin rite at Cracow and Lemberg, I was present at some twenty services, or parts of services, in the various Uniate churches of the Oriental rite in the latter town. It would not be possible within the limits of the space now at my disposal to describe in detail the minutiæ of ritual divergences from the Oriental rite in a Latin direction which I came across: this I purpose to do elsewhere. It will suffice to say that what I saw and heard fully coincided with Count Bobrinsky's assertion in the columns of *The Times* that "new customs and ceremonies, abhorred by the people, are being introduced". The greatest variety was apparent. No two services were quite alike; and it was not difficult to gauge the ecclesiastical and political predilections of the individual officiating clergy by the extent to which the Latinising changes were protruded. Speaking generally, with the exception of the services in one of the churches which I attended, and which were evidently conducted under conservative auspices, the process of Latinisation has made great strides since I last saw the Ruthenian Uniate rite in Austria just twenty years ago. I entered frequently into conversation with many of the people whom I casually came across in the churches, including some of the choir-men and lay-readers, who were very courteous in show-

ing me the service books and explaining things. I sought in vain for any layman taking part in these services who had a good word for the changes which are being introduced. Amongst those most resented seemed to be such things as devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, processions and "Benedictions" of the reserved Sacrament, the cultus of St. Joseph, and the pressing into prominence of St. Josáphat Kuntzévich, "martyr" Bishop of Polotsk. This "martyr" met his fate, in the early part of the seventeenth century, at the hands of his own flock, who, enraged at the Latin innovations he was trying to introduce, and his tyrannical methods of enforcing them, threw him into the river Dwina with a stone tied round his neck. I sincerely hope that the same fate may not befall the present Metropolitan of Galicia, Archbishop Andrew Sheptitzky; but although, as Prince P. Sapiéha says, he is not a member of the Polish party, he is a strong Ukrainophil; and, as such, he is entirely at one with the Poles and the Jesuits, so far as their ecclesiastical policy of Latinising the Uniate rite is concerned. Mr. Stepankowsky speaks of Count Bobrinsky as "insulting publicly our Metropolitan". Truth requires me to state that I frequently heard "not a shepherd, but a wolf," which was the strongest expression used by Count Bobrinsky, from the lips of members of the Metropolitan's own flock in Lemberg, not to speak of other expressions still less complimentary. And, while I was in Galicia, I heard several of the Uniate clergy, men quite loyal to the Union with Rome, deploring the fact that their Metropolitan was a tool in the hands of the Jesuits, and that under their auspices he was bringing ruin upon the Church over which he presides.

During the following week I made three expeditions amongst the country villages; one in the flat country south of Lemberg, the other two amongst the villages in the Carpathians west of Lemberg, inhabited by that part of the Ruthenian population which is known as the "Lemki," a name derived from a peculiarity in their local dialect, in which the word *lem* is used in place of the ordinary Russian word *lishj* ("only").

The objective of my first expedition in these parts was the village of Grab. My reason for selecting it was that, while it was one of the cases of persecution mentioned in Count Bobrinsky's letter to *The Times*, I had heard that his Polish opponents were making much of the fact that he had never himself personally visited this part of Galicia, and were saying that he had merely repeated the statements of "political agents" on hearsay. An acquaintance, whom I had made in Lemberg, accompanied me, who, although he had not lately been in those parts, had passed his childhood and youth there, having been the son of a Uniate priest in a neighbouring village. He therefore knew the country well; and, indeed, without some such assistance, it would have been impossible, travelling in a *teliéga* (or four-wheeled peasant's waggon) to find one's way about the rough mountain-roads from village to village.

The result of my investigation was that I found out that what Count Bobrinsky had written to *The Times* was the truth indeed, but not the half of it. Matters have moved since he wrote, and five other villages[1] had joined Grab in rejecting the Union and going over to the Orthodox Church. I talked to about forty peasants in Grab itself, and to about twenty in another village, and to several casual natives we met on the road as we passed through two other villages. There was no difficulty in entering into conversation with any one whom I met, any more than there is when travelling in the villages in Russia itself, where the peasants no less than the gentlefolk always receive a friendly foreigner with open arms. Even after dark—for it was late in the evening before we reached my friend's old home, where we were to pass the night—as one passed through the villages, one heard the greeting "*Sláva Iisúsu Khristú*" (Glory to Jesus Christ), which is the expression used by these peasants where we should say "Good day," or the Russians *Zdrávstvyjtje* (the Latin *Salvete*);

[1] Their names are (I give the names as I was told them, with the alternative Polish spelling in the maps): Vyshevatka (*Wyszowadka*), Dolgoe (*Długie*), Lipna Chernoe (*Czarne*), and Nezaevo (*Nieznaowa*). I visited three of these villages, and talked with the peasants in them.

and directly one had replied with the customary "*Sláva i nýnje i vo vjéki*" (Glory, both now and for ever) they were ready to talk to us as if we had been old acquaintances. It would be impossible here to relate a tenth of the grievances which I heard. This I hope to do more at length elsewhere. Their revolt began with the attempts of a priest, whom the Bishop had sent to Grab, and who is a bitter Ukrainophil partisan, to introduce Latinising innovations which are not in their service books, and also to force a language upon them which the Polish majority in the local Galician Parliament has made official, but which is not actually the language of any part of Galicia, and which amongst the Lemki is actually unintelligible. This "language" is an amalgam of three Little Russian dialects spoken in Galicia, as well as of other dialects spoken in Volhynia and Little Russia itself, with a liberal admixture of Polish words and expressions. It is, in fact, an artificial jargon, a sort of local Esperanto; and the main object both of its structure and of its orthography is to construct something which shall be as different as possible from ordinary literary Russian, in order that, by forcing this upon the children in the schools and in their religious instruction, the authorities may gradually render Russian literature inaccessible to them, and then, by means of books of devotion containing Latin prayers translated into the new language, sever them from the Orthodox traditions hitherto preserved in their Church. The process involves the further result that it likewise cuts them off from being able to read or understand the old Slavonic in which (as in Russia) their services are read. This policy of the Poles, of course, suits the Jesuits very well, as, if it ever succeeded, and the people could no longer understand what was being read in church, it would afford an excellent excuse for the substitution of the Latin for the Slavonic language. But it is exasperating to the Ruthenian peasantry in Galicia, who both understand and love their church services, and where congregational singing in the churches in the old Slavonic language is well-nigh universal. In fact, the language grievance in these

villages loomed almost as large as the ritual grievance. I was told by one man after another that the Ukrainophil priests talked a language in the pulpit and in the confessional which he could not understand; that they tried to separate children from their parents by teaching them to pray in it; and that the spelling which their boys were being taught in the schools prevented them from reading the epistle and the psalter at the services in church when their turn came, as their fathers and forefathers had always done. A version of the Lord's Prayer in this new "language," which is being forced on these children instead of the old Slavonic version to which they have always been accustomed, has given particular offence. The Americanism "Who," instead of "Which art in heaven," which somewhat jars upon most Englishmen, finds its exact counterpart in the substitution of *kotrij* for *izhe*. But this is by no means all. Out of the fifty-three words which for nine centuries they have been accustomed to use in the Lord's Prayer, twenty-one have been changed, and in seventeen more, where the Slavonic text could not be altered, the spelling has been changed, so as to make the words look different to the wording of their authorised service books; so that only fifteen words in the whole prayer remain untampered with. When the Lemki peasants showed it to me, while I could see that this new version contained several tasteless and vulgar colloquialisms, the terms "pagan" and "blasphemous," which they used of it, seemed to me somewhat overstrong. Not being myself an expert in the exact shades of meaning of the various local dialects, I some weeks afterwards showed this version to a good scholar in Little Russian dialects at Moscow, and specially pointed out to him the word *nekhái*, to which they had most objected, and which is substituted for the Slavonic optative particle, *da*, in each of the first three petitions of the Lord's Prayer. He burst out laughing, and said: "Well, I don't wonder that they object there to *nekhái bùde vólja Tvojá:* if I were arguing with you in Little Russian, and lost my temper, and wished to say, 'bother you, have your own way,' those are the very words I

should use". And this is the expression which the Uniate children are being taught to use, instead of the familiar and dignified words, which all people of Slavonic race perfectly understand, *da búdet vólja Tvojá* for, "Thy will be done".

So far as the language which the peasants talk is concerned, I again found my experience to coincide with Count Bobrinsky's account. Mr. Stepankowsky tells your readers that "there is no Russian language spoken there". All I can say is that, although Russian is the only Slavonic language which I am able to speak, and the Old Slavonic, or Church language, the only other Slavonic language which I have seriously studied, I found that I could converse without much difficulty with these peasants both in this West Carpathian part of Galicia and also in the neighbourhood of Lemberg, where another local dialect is spoken by the common people. Those two dialects differ from one another just about as much as do the local dialects of Norfolk and Yorkshire; and they both differ from ordinary literary Russian as spoken in Moscow just about as much, and as little, as the Norfolk and Yorkshire dialects differ from ordinary literary English. The difficulties which I found in conversing with them were just of the same kind and extent which I have noticed foreigners, with a fair knowledge of English, who have stayed with me in Norfolk for shooting or other purposes, to find in conversing with a Norfolk gamekeeper or gardener. They at once understood everything I said; in all the conversations I had with them I was never once asked to repeat a sentence, and every question I asked was answered to the point. While I, for my part, often had to ask them to repeat a sentence, and still more often had to ask them to speak slowly and quietly and one at a time, I seldom had much difficulty in making out their meaning. As is the case with English as it is spoken with us here in Norfolk, so also there, in many words the vowels are pronounced more or less differently to the ordinary Russian pronunciation, and occasionally words, not used in ordinary Russian, turned up, which I had to ask my friend to explain to me. Talking on religious matters was compara-

tively easy, as their ecclesiastical terminology is largely shaped from their service books written in the Old Slavonic.

I saw and talked with some forty peasants in the village of Grab alone. The cause of all the trouble there has been a priest, Kislévsky, who has been forced upon them, and who is a violent Latiniser, and bitter Ukrainophil politician. I heard their complaints against his conduct, in and out of church, which were both varied and numerous. I cannot now go into them all. The two last straws seem to have been, first, that in 1910 he had arbitrarily cut the word "Orthodox" out of the prayer at the Great Entrance in the Liturgy: "May the Lord God remember all of you Orthodox Christians in His Kingdom," although it is printed in the service books which by the written law of his Church he is bound to use at the altar; and, secondly, that he had refused to register his people in the parish list as Russians. "We were always Russians and Orthodox, and so were our fathers and forefathers before us; we know now that Ukrainism is a bridge to make Poles of us, and that the *Unia* is a trap to turn us into Papists (*Katoliki*): we have left the *Unia* for ever, and they may fine us and rob us of our cattle, or even hang us and cut us up, but we will never go back to it." They had invited an Orthodox priest, Sandóvich, a native of the village of Zhdynia, twelve versts away, to come and minister to them, giving him a house and some land, and themselves providing for his maintenance. The local authorities, in spite of the Austrian constitution providing for perfect religious liberty, had refused them permission to build a church. The services, held in a private room, had been constantly interfered with by the gendarmes, who, after having brought Father Sandóvich into court, and having got him fined on various occasions, had on Easter Day last surrounded the house while he was celebrating the Holy Communion and arrested him immediately afterwards (we were then in the room in a peasant's cottage where this had taken place), and he was thrown into prison at Lemberg, and has remained there ever since. I told the peasants that the reason that I had come to see them was because I wished to

know the truth of what had been written about them in the English papers, and that I particularly wished to know whether what Prince Sapiéha had written was true, viz.: that Russian propagandists had been among them, and had been paying them from 50 to 100 roubles a head to change their religion. The effect of this question was indescribable. The men clenched their fists, the women burst into tears. "It's a lie," they said. "No one from independent Russia (*derzhávnoi Rusi*) has ever been here, nor did we ever see a single rouble in our lives. We get no money for being Orthodox: the Poles take our money, and our cattle, and our goods, and the gendarmes tell us that they will go on doing so until we go back to the Uniate Church. But we will starve to death first."

The question will naturally suggest itself to English readers, How such a state of things can be possible in a country like Austria, whose Constitution provides for complete freedom of conscience for all her subjects? I do not wish to mix English politics up in this matter, but it is impossible not to ask Englishmen to take warning from what is now going on in Galicia. In the middle of the last century Galicia was granted by the Austrian Government a form of Home Rule almost exactly like the project which is at present before the House of Commons. Now, in the Galician Parliament, or *Sejm*, the Polish party have a permanent and overwhelming majority; and, as the police and the whole administration is in their hands, they are able to ignore altogether the tolerant provisions of the Austrian Constitution. Moreover, as Galicia, out of the 120 members which it sends to the *Reichsrath* at Vienna, contributes a solid phalanx of 70 Polish members, and they happen just to hold the balance of parties in that House, any Government which attempted redress would instantly run the risk of being thrown out of office. Under the law, leave has to be got in Galicia, as elsewhere in Austria, from the local authority, for anything of the nature of a public meeting. It is quite easy, under such conditions as I have described, to apply this law to religious

gatherings for worship, even when held in private houses, and, on the pretence of their being illegal meetings, to inflict fines or imprisonment on those who attend them, when, as in the case at Grab, there are six Polish gendarmes at the disposal of the priest Kislévsky to bring the peasants up before the Courts in the district town of Zmigrod and the county town of Jaslo, the *personnel* of these Courts being likewise at the disposition of the Polish masters of the situation. More than sixty fines have been imposed on the peasants of Grab on this ground alone. Besides this, the Orthodox peasants are fined on all sorts of other pretexts, and when they point out that those who remain in the Uniate Church are not subjected to the same penalties, the gendarmes tell them quite frankly that they had better return to the obedience of Kislévsky. One woman told me that she had been fined 50 crowns for allowing thistles to grow in her field, and I found afterwards that this was a favourite way of putting the screw upon the Orthodox in that neighbourhood. Altogether, on one pretext or another, 400 of the Orthodox peasantry have been mulcted in the last eighteen months of sums ranging from 50 to 400 crowns; that is to say, from £2 2s. 6d. to £18, sums which are a serious matter for such very poor people. As Count Bobrinsky wrote in *The Times* of the people in the village of Telige, so also in the village of Grab, many of them have had to sell their goods and cattle and even clothes (thick coats for winter wear) to meet these imposts. The peasant Silvester Pavelchak, whose house was one of those that I visited, had gone that very day to Zmigrod to sell his only cow to pay a fine of 50 crowns, which he, and eleven other peasants as well, had incurred for holding (according to their custom) lighted tapers in their hands at a service in his house on the eve of St. Nicholas Day last December. The Court at Zmigrod had condemned them on the pretext of there being a danger of setting the village on fire. The peasants had appealed in the County Court at Jaslo, and the Jewish lawyer, whom they had employed to defend them, had pointed out that in every Jewish cottage in Galicia Sabbath candles are weekly burnt without

any interference. But all in vain: the decision was upheld, and now Silvester had to sell his cow to pay the fine and the costs. Their houses are searched by the police for Russian literature, and anything written in Russian, however remotely removed from religion or politics, is confiscated. One man told me that the gendarmes had taken from him some poems by Pushkin, another, *Taras Bulba*, by Gogol; another, a popular tract in Russian upon the cultivation of small holdings. It is not surprising that indignation is spreading, and that the five other villages already mentioned in the neighbourhood have left the *Unia*, and have declared themselves Orthodox. And the same thing is going on all over the country. Two days later I attended an out-of-door meeting in another part of the Carpathians, some twenty miles to the East of Grab, in which Mr. Kurilóvich, member of the Austrian *Reichsrath* for that district, and other speakers spoke very plainly upon the subject to an enthusiastic audience of near upon a thousand peasants. This gave me the opportunity, before and after the meeting, of a good deal of conversation with peasants from another set of villages to those which I had already visited. The stories they had to tell were much the same. Some fifteen of them had been in America as emigrants, and could talk English. A fine young man, over six feet in height, and with long yellow moustache and blue eyes, who had been mining in Pennsylvania, told me that he had come back to help his father on his farm, but that, on his father's death, he intended to return to America, as it was a country where he was allowed to practise his own religion, and where he could read and teach his children his own language without interference by the police. In America, over 40,000 of the Galician emigrants have left the *Unia* and joined the Orthodox community under the Russian Archbishop who resides in New York. I wonder whether Prince Sapiéha would maintain that a Russian political propaganda, and sums of 50 and 100 roubles, are all-powerful in the United States? If he were to do so, I think that most Englishmen would smile. One man, with whom I spoke, had been in Canada,

and he said: "Why does not our Government treat us as the English Government treats the French out there?"

This leads me to my last point. The French in Canada are some of the most faithful of the subjects of the British Crown; but it is difficult to believe that they would long remain so, supposing that the Canadian Government were to attempt to Anglicanise their church services, to force upon their schools, instead of French, a jargon composed of a mixture of Provençal and Italian dialects, or were to send the police to search their houses and confiscate volumes of Molière, Racine, and Corneille. And, supposing anything so impossible to occur, it is hard to believe, however much we at home are all agreed that our colonies are best left to manage their own affairs, that the English Government would have nothing to say in the matter. Let the Austrian Government take the matter in hand, and put a stop to this abominable and cowardly persecution before it is too late. The desire of the present Russian Government to live at peace with Austria is well known. But Russians have hearts, and warm hearts, too, and they feel on this subject just what we should feel, were Englishmen in any part of the world being treated in such a way as these peasants all over Galicia are being treated. It is an odious calumny to accuse these poor people, just because the religion they wish to practise happens, amongst other countries, to be practised in Russia, of being "Russian agents" and "Muscovite spies," and conspirators against the Austrian Government. During the time I was in Galicia, although I heard plenty of plain speaking, both about the local administration and about the Galician ecclesiastical authorities, I never heard a word of disrespect for the venerable Austrian Emperor. At the political meeting which I attended he was spoken of with perfect loyalty and devotion, and amongst the peasants in the villages more than one assured me that, if "our *Tzisar*" knew what was going on, he would soon put matters right. They are proud of the day on which, soon after he ascended the throne in 1848, in the midst of the revolution which was then raging throughout the Austrian Empire, and in Vienna

in particular, the Ruthenian guard was on duty at the Hofburg, and the Emperor said: "To-day I can sleep in peace, for my faithful Ruthenians are standing on guard in the Burg"; and they often refer to this incident, and also to the fact that the Austrian Government itself at that time designated them "the Tyrolese of the East," as being conspicuous, in contrast to the Polish and Hungarian rebels, for their loyalty. At Grab they told me, "We are the faithful children of our Emperor (*viérnyi dićti*[1] *nashego Tzisarja*), we gladly give him recruits and would die for him". On the Emperor's birthday, the choir in the church of the Stavropigia at Lemberg sang at the end of the service a verse of the National Anthem in the local dialect to Haydn's well-known tune, the translation of which is as follows: "God, be Thou protector to the Kaiser (*Tzisarju*), and to his domains! A ruler, strong in the faith, may he wisely lead us! The crown of his ancestors we will defend against the foe. Closely with the throne of the Hapsburgs the destiny of Austria is bound." It was heartily taken up by the congregation, many of them kneeling or crossing themselves. I am convinced that the story of Russian propaganda with Russian roubles is pure nonsense. It is quite possible, though I do not know it, that individual Russians may subscribe to some of the private institutions known as "burses," where provision is made for children who are attending schools in the towns to live in their own Ruthenian surroundings instead of being turned into Poles or Ukrainophils by the schoolmasters appointed by the local Government: if I were a Russian, and had the opportunity, I myself should certainly do so. I can only say that, having gone out to Galicia with every wish to take an unbiassed view of the question at issue between the three correspondents in *The Times*, I found that Count Bobrinsky's letter contained the

[1] I retain the correct Russian spelling, with English equivalents (*ié* and *y*) for the letters *jatj* and *jerý*, although with the Lemki, as in some of the other Little Russian dialects they are both pronounced very much like *i*. On the other hand, the termination of the nom. plur. of the adjective with *i* instead of the ordinary Russian *ja* is a genuine grammatical variant of the dialects in these districts.

truth, and, if not the whole, nor even half of the truth of all that I saw, at least nothing but the truth.[1]

[1] This essay was written in 1913, a little more than a year before the Great War broke out. The fate of Galicia now (1917) hangs in the balance. As in the Balkans, the mixture of races and religions makes a settlement satisfactory to all parties almost impossible.—[A.R.]

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CENTENARY OF BORODINO.[1]

THE Russians during the late summer have been celebrating the centenary of the deliverance of their country from Napoleon's invasion in 1812. All such celebrations in Russia take a religious form. While we Englishmen commemorate our victory over Napoleon by a bridge across the Thames in London, the Russians commemorate theirs by a Church, the Cathedral of the Saviour in Moscow, by far the most splendid ecclesiastical building which the nineteenth century produced. Every year, in every church in the Empire, there is a thanksgiving service, as it is described in the service books, "for the deliverance of the Russian Church and the Russian Monarchy from the attack of the Gauls and the twelve nations which accompanied them". Which these twelve nations were I need not enumerate, but they included almost every State in Europe except the English and the Swedes. The number "twelve" is arrived at by the stamps or the initials of the various European monarchs on the guns which were left in the snow during the retreat of the great army from Moscow, and which may now be seen, over 900 in number, piled up outside the Arsenal in the Kremlin of that city. I shall not attempt to describe the Napoleonic invasion of Russia in detail. Suffice it to say that there is a monument on the middle of the field of Borodino, with an inscription saying that here, out of an army of 110,000, 15,000 Russians were killed and 35,000 were wounded in defence of their country, and that

[1] This article appeared in *The English Church Review*, February, 1913.—[A.R.]

the enemy crossed the frontier with 550,000 men and recrossed it with 79,000.

Borodino was chosen as the spot on which the first part of the celebrations should take place, and a happier choice could hardly have been made. This battle was fought by the Russians about 100 miles west of Moscow in order to save the ancient capital from falling into the hands of the enemy; and in so far as the French were left in possession of the field, and further efforts to save Moscow were afterwards abandoned, it is to be regarded as a French victory. But there was no rout of the Russian Army, which retired in perfect order; and it was only for strategical reasons that the fight was not renewed further east. It was a commemoration, therefore, of a practically drawn battle in which French and Russians alike could take part; and, as a matter of fact, a French deputation came there for the dedication of a monument to their dead which the French nation had erected, and of which during the solemnities the Emperor of Russia himself performed the opening ceremony.

As I had the privilege of receiving a gracious invitation to these solemnities, and, with the exception of the French deputation, was, I believe, the only foreigner that took part in them, I think that some of your readers may perhaps like an account of what took place. I arrived in the station of Borodino at eight o'clock in the morning of 25 August (O.S.), that is to say, the day before the anniversary of the battle. The first person I saw on the platform was M. Sazonoff,[1] the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, an old friend of mine, who had arrived a few minutes before me, and who promptly invited me to stay with him, during the two days' festivities, in the train which had brought all the Ministers from St. Petersburg. This was a great relief, as there was no accommodation at Borodino beyond a few tents and temporary sheds. In fact, by far the greater number of the 3000 invited guests only arrived from Moscow early in the morning of the day itself, and I had been told that, if I came on the day before, I

[1] Appointed, in 1916, Ambassador to Great Britain.—[A.R.]

must be prepared for the possibility of some discomfort. As it was, I was in clover; that is to say, in a comfortable Russian railway sleeping compartment. At eleven o'clock the Emperor arrived. As he descended from the train he was met by the local authorities of the village of Borodino with the customary offerings of bread and salt. He then, with the Empress and their august daughters, walked up the platform, where we were all standing, to receive a similar offering from a deputation of the nobility of the neighbourhood, and to bestow a few kindly words upon the school children who were assembled to greet them. After this the whole Imperial family went to perform their devotions at a large convent, which was founded on the (Russian) left wing of the battle-field, by the widow of a general, who had been killed in the battle, on the spot where he had fallen, and of which she herself became the first abbess. After an early lunch, my host and I proceeded in a motor on to the battle-field, and were shown the principal points of interest. Unlike the field of Waterloo, where, in addition to the artificial mound surmounted by the monumental lion to commemorate the battle, the site has been considerably altered and spoilt by new roads and boundaries and fresh buildings, the field of Borodino remains exactly as it was 100 years ago. As one surveys it from the low natural hill in the centre, on which had been the Rajevski Redoubt, the centre of the Russian position, where the very thickest of the fight took place, one sees a beautiful undulating plain for about a mile in all directions, bounded on all sides by birch and fir forest. The summit of this hill, with the monument to the battle, already mentioned, in its midst, formed the centre of all the ceremonial which took place in connection with the celebration. We gathered there at about two o'clock in the afternoon. The scene, on a faultless bright summer's day, with just a slight breeze to mitigate the heat, was entrancing. At the summit of the hill had been erected the actual travelling tent which the Emperor Alexander I had used during the campaign. It was open on three sides, and had been fitted up as a temporary chapel, containing the

icons, or holy pictures of Christ, His Mother and His Saints, which had accompanied the Emperor and some of his generals during the war. At the foot of this hill, drawn up in three sides of a square round it, were 16,000 troops of various kinds, consisting of a company from each of the regiments which had fought in the battle, as well as two battalions of the Semenovski regiment of the Guards, which in the battle had been nearly annihilated (they lost 2600 men) in defence of the Rajevski Redoubt on the spot where we were standing.

At about 2.30 the bells of the convent began to ring, and in a few minutes we saw from the hill the Imperial party approaching in motors amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the thousands of peasants and pilgrims who had assembled, not only from the neighbourhood, but from distant parts of the vast Empire, to take their part in this great national thanksgiving. When they arrived at the foot of the hill below us, the Emperor and the Grand Dukes mounted their horses, and the Empress with her august children entered State carriages and proceeded along the lines of the troops to inspect them. While this was going on immediately beneath us, and we were surveying the battle-field from our point of vantage on the top of the hill, there came into view, at the spot where the road from Smolensk emerges from the forest on the far western side of the field, a wonderful religious procession. All round me I heard the words, *Vladýchitza prishlá:* "Our Lady has arrived!" Immediately every head was bare, and people were crossing themselves; for the "Smolensk" icon, or sacred picture, of the Holy Virgin and Child had come into sight. I would say, with regard to the Eastern veneration of the holy pictures, which so much puzzles and even shocks Englishmen when they see it for the first time (for as Bishop Creighton used to say, by superstition an Englishman means any act of religious worship which he is not himself in the habit of practising), that to the Eastern it means just as much, and no more, than when an Englishman takes off his hat on entering a Church. We do not mean, when we take off our hats on entering a church, that "the Almighty dwelleth in temples made by

hands," but that the House of God is a symbol of His invisible presence amongst us. Good old Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich, wrote that when he saw a crucifix he could "dispense with his hat, but not with the thought or memory of His Saviour"; so when the Russian reverences or kisses the picture of the Holy Mother and her Divine Child, he means that he believes that our Lord was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man; and this is the Russian's way of showing his love, and worshipping God and adoring Him for it. This particular icon [1] had, 100 years ago, accompanied the troops in their retreat after Napoleon had stormed Smolensk, and in the evening before the battle (as readers of Tolstoi's *War and Peace* will remember) the Russian General Kutuzoff had taken it round the troops to encourage them, and to remind them that they were going to fight for their holy faith as well as for their country. It was a beautiful sight as the icon, which had been eight days on its journey, carried by the peasants from village to village, emerged from the forest on the Smolensk road, and preceded by numerous silver gilt metal banners, blazing in the summer sun, and a large choir, and followed by a host of clergy in gorgeous cloth of gold vestments and numerous monks and nuns, slowly wound its way across the plain towards where we were standing, and then through the crowds of people who were attending the festival. When it arrived at the foot of the hill, the Emperor left the troops, and, dismounting from his horse, paid his devotions before the sacred picture, and then followed it up the hill to the chapel, formed, as I have already said, out of Alexander I.'s travelling tent used in the campaign of 1812. A solemn service immediately followed for the souls of Alexander I, for Kutuzoff, and for all who had fallen in defence of their country, containing, amongst other things, the Kontakion,

[1] The "Smolensk Mother of God," which is one of the three icons in Russia which are traditionally connected with the Evangelist, St. Luke, was brought from Constantinople, in the twelfth century by Anne, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine, when she married Vsevolod, Prince of Chernigoff. It has several times played an important part in Russian history.

"Give rest, O Christ, to Thy servants with Thy saints," sung to the same melody to which its translation is now frequently sung in St. Paul's Cathedral, St. George's, Windsor, and many other places in England; and the beautiful "Everlasting memory," sung very softly three times over, everybody kneeling. The Emperor then took the Smolensk Virgin round all the troops, just as Kutuzoff had done on that very afternoon 100 years ago. Detachments from each company carried it in turn, the choir singing in front, and the Emperor following immediately behind on foot and bare-headed. The enthusiasm and the emotion produced were indescribable. I think that there were very few dry eyes amongst those who were present.

The following morning began with a splendid celebration of the Liturgy in the convent church, at which the Metropolitan of Moscow, assisted by five other Bishops, pontificated, the choir being the magnificent Synodal choir from Moscow containing eighty of the best voices in Russia. The Emperor and Empress and the Imperial family were present, and though there was not room for more than about 200 of the guests, I was most kindly provided with a place. After the Liturgy, a procession was formed, the choir and the clergy going first, then, immediately behind, the Metropolitan, the Emperor and his four daughters following on foot, next the Grand Dukes, and then all of us invited guests. The Empress was driving in a carriage with the Tzesarévitch, a dear bright little boy of eight years old, whose late dangerous illness has called forth the sympathy of all Englishmen. The procession proceeded at a slow pace for about a mile back to the Rajevski Redoubt; and there, when we arrived, the great thanksgiving service, already referred to, for the deliverance of the Russian Church and Monarchy 100 years ago took place. It would take too long to describe the service in detail, which was accompanied by all the splendid ceremonial for which the Eastern Church is so famed; but I cannot help mentioning the Scriptures which were read.

It must be remembered that the invasion of Napoleon was felt to be something much more than a mere contest between

two rival nations. On crossing the frontier, Napoleon had issued a bombastic proclamation to the Russian people, telling them that he had come to "deliver" them from their hitherto authorities in Church and State; and, indeed, the deliberate desecration of the churches throughout the campaign brought home to the Russian people, in a manner that nothing else could have done, that the real issue at stake was whether the principles of the French Revolution or of the religion of the Incarnation should prevail. In view of this, and of the overweening pride of the invader, and the awful catastrophe which befell him, what could be more appropriate than the Old Testament lection? (Is. xiv. 13-17, 24-28):—

"Thus saith the Lord unto the King of Babylon: thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the uppermost parts of the north. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High. Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the uttermost parts of the pit. They that look upon thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying, Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake the kingdoms; that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof; that let not loose his prisoners to their home? Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: Surely as I have thought, so shall it come to pass: and as I have purposed so shall it stand: that I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains I will tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders. This is the purpose that is purposed upon the whole earth: and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations. For the Lord of Hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and His hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?"

This was followed by the Epistle (Heb. xi. 32-34; xii. 1, 2): "Brethren, time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthah, of David also and Samuel, and of the Prophets: who through faith subdued

kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of the fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the army of the aliens. Wherefore seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith."

Then came the Gospel, solemnly read by the Metropolitan of Moscow himself (Matt. xxiv. 6-8, 21-22): "The Lord said unto His disciples: Ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not troubled: for all these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows. For there shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved: but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened."

I have given these Scripture readings in full, in order to show the character of Russian services on such an occasion. I have been privileged to assist at several other solemnities on great occasions in the national life of Russia, and the tone of them is always the same. There is nothing of the "Mafeking" spirit about them; this would be quite alien from the spirit of the Russian people, and of their Orthodox Church, to which they owe all that has made them the great nation that they are. The prayer which followed the Gospel, recited by the Metropolitan, both he and everybody present on bended knee, brings this out, in such passages as: "Thou hast not dealt with us according to our iniquities, O Lord, neither hast thou rewarded us according to our sins," and "After having left us for a short time, of Thy great mercy didst have pity upon us, and having visited our trangressions with the rod, like as a father pitieth his children, so didst Thou have pity upon us.

Thou didst look upon our grief, and upon the tribulation of the Imperial city [Moscow], in the which from years of old they called upon Thy name, and upon our prayers," etc. The service was brought to an end by the *Te Deum*, followed by "Many years" for the Emperor and all the Imperial Family, a short prayer, with the "Everlasting Memory," for the souls of Alexander I and those who fell in the war in defence of their fatherland, and then a second "Many years" for the "Christ-loving soldiery of the victorious army of All the Russias". Then followed a great review and march past of all the troops, after which the Emperor entertained all the invited guests at lunch. The Borodino celebrations were brought to an end by the Emperor opening the monument erected by the French nation to commemorate their soldiers which had fallen in the battle.

I hope that this account may give some idea of the immense hold which the Orthodox Eastern Church has upon the affections of the Russian people, and the power for good which it exercises upon the national life.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.

BIRKBECK's last article was published in 1915 in *Lectures on the Russian Church* (S.P.C.K.). Though he repeats portions of previous papers, notably the address of the Japanese Orthodox Church to the Metropolitan of Kieff in 1888, setting forth the difference between Romanism and Protestantism, it seems best to print the lecture entire so as to preserve the continuity of his argument.

My subject is the "Doctrine of the Russian Church". By this, it is not meant that there is any doctrinal difference to be found between the Russian Church and the Church of the Eastern Patriarchates, or the other autocephalous Churches of the Orthodox East. I am merely proposing to put before you certain points of view upon doctrinal questions which I have come across in Russian theological literature, and in personal intercourse with Russian Churchmen, which I think are worthy of our consideration. They are inevitably of a somewhat polemical complexion, but I think that the great merit of the Russian controversial writers of the last hundred years, as contrasted with much that was written by Russians and Greeks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whether against Rome or Protestantism, is that these polemics consist not merely of negations, but that they are eminently constructive, and enable one to arrive at the true doctrinal position of the Eastern Church.

The first time that I came into connection with Russian ecclesiastical affairs was at the celebration at Kiev in the year 1888 of the Ninth Centenary of the "Baptising of the Rus-

sian nation": that is to say of the Conversion of Russia to Christianity under the Grand Duke St. Vladimir. Many letters of congratulation were addressed to the Metropolitan Plato of Kiev on that occasion, including one from our Archbishop Benson, which was highly appreciated. But amongst the most remarkable of these letters was one from the flourishing Russian Orthodox Mission in Japan, which at that time already numbered 25,000 converts, with a clergy consisting, with two exceptions, entirely of native Japanese under the Russian Bishop Nicholas. In this letter the general points at issue between Orthodoxy on the one hand and Rome and Protestantism on the other are set forth, in somewhat unconventional terms it is true, but at the same time so vigorously and clearly, that I think I cannot do better than begin my paper with some extracts from it. It was written in the Japanese language, but was read on that occasion in a Russian translation, from which I have in turn translated it into English.

After referring to the well-known story of St. Vladimir's conversion, and to the various envoys which had been sent from the different religious bodies, Jewish, Mohammedan, and Latin as well as Orthodox Eastern, in order to persuade the Grand Duke to join them, and after pointing to the fact that they, the young Japanese Orthodox Church, had made the same choice as did the Grand Duke, the latter goes on to speak with regard to the missionaries in Japan of other religious bodies:—

"But we ask St. Vladimir, and beseech the Russian Church, to intercede before God that the same choice which he made may likewise be made by our nation, and that God may not suffer the Japanese nation [when they forsake their paganism] to enter afresh upon a false religious path, but that He may enlighten them with the light of the true and divinely-given Faith. We, indeed, who 'have tasted of the sweet, have no desire for the bitter,'[1] either for ourselves or for our

[1] From the speech of Vladimir's envoys, as given in the *Ancient Chronicle*, on their return from Constantinople in their description of the service which they had attended in the Cathedral of St. Sofia.

country. But at the present time there are even more who offer us the bitter under the guise of sweet than there were in the time of St. Vladimir. Behold, we have before us one set of envoys who offer us their Creed for our acceptation; but to the question as to what exactly their dogmas are, how can they answer but as follows? 'To-day we hold such and such doctrines, but what *may be added to them* to-morrow we cannot tell; for perhaps at this very moment a man, far away from here, who has authority to do so, is preparing some new dogmas, which to-morrow we shall have to accept and believe; in fact, there are many amongst us who have not yet passed the limits of middle age, and who in our youth had two dogmas less to confess than we have at present, and perhaps we shall reach old age with two, possibly more than two, dogmas to believe besides those which we have to believe to-day.' How can *these* be the successors of those ambassadors, who 'did not shun to declare unto the people all the counsel of God?'[1]

"But behold, envoys of another kind appear before us. These answer the aforesaid question when it is put before them (i.e. What dogmas do you hold exactly?) in a totally different manner to the former. 'To-day our doctrine is so and so, but what we *may drop out of it* to-morrow we ourselves know not.' And as they crumble and dissolve into sects, they wipe out the truths revealed by Christ one after another, until the very first foundations of Christianity melt away. And are men such as these the successors of those ambassadors to whom it was said, 'Go ye, and teach all nations, . . . teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you?'"[2]

Then, summing up the difference between the Roman and Protestant missionaries in Japan, and comparing the teaching of both with Orthodoxy, the letter continues:—

"The one set, the further they go the more do they add of 'the wood, hay, and stubble' of human imaginations and inventions, which they have come across and picked up on

[1] Acts xx. 27. [2] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

their way, unto the 'gold, silver, and precious stones' of the Divine doctrine; the others, the further they go the more do they fritter away of the treasure of the doctrine of God. Are not both alike preparing for those who shall trust and follow after them the bitterness of error and disenchantment, as well as a fresh search for the true Faith in time to come? It is the Orthodox Church alone which can 'give to drink from the fount of the sweetness of the word of God' to those who come to her, for she alone has preserved the Divine doctrine just as it was committed to her, and will preserve it unchanged to the end of the ages, without adding to or taking from it a single iota, inasmuch as she is 'the pillar and ground of the truth,' inasmuch as the Spirit of God, which dwelleth within her, preserveth her from all error."

We have here the doctrinal position of the Eastern Church set forth without any theological technicalities in the simplest and clearest manner. The Orthodox Church stands for "the faith once delivered unto the saints," and does not admit of the possibility of subsequent additions to or subtractions from it. At first sight it would appear that it is very much the position taken up by the Oxford Tractarians, and I remember that a well-known Oxford theologian, to whom I sent this document some twenty-five years ago, wrote to me that it was practically identical in principle with those set forth in Dr. Newman's *Via Media*. This is not quite the case. It may in some ways be true theologically, and it is doubtless true historically, to say that the Church of England is a *via media* between Rome and Protestantism. But this is certainly not true of the Eastern Church. She neither historically had any part in the troubles which overtook the Western Church in the sixteenth century, nor has she ever regarded herself theologically as a *via media* between those contending parties. On the contrary, she looks upon Romanism and Protestantism as parts of the same thing, the latter, namely Protestantism, logically following upon the former—two aspects of the same error, that error being the rejection of the authority of the Universal Church, under the influence of rationalism, and the

substitution in its place of other authorities, more or less conventional.

The Russian theologians of the middle of the last century, especially those of the Slavophile school, devoted much of their labours to the study of the nature of the Church. According to their theology, the Church is not merely an institution, differing only from other institutions, such as the State, in being a spiritual instead of a secular institution; it is something much more than this. It is a living organism of faith and love, or, as one of them puts it, "faith and love as an organism," the Body of which Christ is the Head, and of which all those who have been, are, or shall be brought into it are the members, fulfilling itself indeed in time, but nevertheless constituting not an imaginary or allegorical, but a true and substantial unity. It is to the whole Body, and not to the hierarchy apart from the rest of the Body, that the custody of the faith is committed: even in the case of a General Council, it is not the number or the dignity of the prelates who take part in it which establishes its œcumenical authority, it is only when the Church as a whole accepts its decisions as the expression of her own belief that they become binding upon the whole Church.

The Russian theologians of whom I am speaking caused some searchings of heart, when they declared that there was no place in the Orthodox Church for the distinction insisted upon in the Latin Communion between the *Ecclesia docens* and the *Ecclesia discens;* and fault was found with them, not only from Latin quarters, but by certain Russian theologians who had been influenced by Western systems of theology. But just at that time there appeared the reply in the year 1848 of the Eastern Patriarchs to the Encyclical of Pius IX, which proved that theirs was the true view of the whole Eastern Church. In this document, drawn up at Constantinople by a Synod of three Patriarchs and twenty-eight Bishops, and afterwards translated and published in Russia by the Church authorities, it is plainly stated: "We have no worldly office of inspection, or sacred direction, such as his

Holiness speaks of, but are united in the unity of the faith only by the bond of love and zeal for our common mother. . . . With us neither Patriarchs nor Council could introduce anything new, for the guardian of religion with us is the body itself, that is to say, the people, of the Church."

This does not mean that the pastoral functions of the hierarchy, including the instruction of their flocks in the faith, any more than their sacramental and disciplinary powers, are derived from, below and not from above. On the contrary, just as the Bishops exist in order to instruct their diocese in the faith, so when controversies arise, they are the natural instruments to formulate the doctrine of the Church in council. The point is, that the gift of infallibility is not only not contained in, but that it is strictly separated from, hierarchical functions. Not only no individual Bishop, however illustrious his see, but no council of Bishops, however important and numerously attended, can put forward any *a priori* claim to define the faith *ex sese, non autem ex consensu ecclesiae ;*[1] the gift of infallibility (which is the same thing as faith) is bestowed not upon individuals, nor upon a class of individuals, but upon the totality of the ecclesiastical body, and is considered as a corollary of the moral principle of mutual love. This position, which is in direct contradiction, not only to that of Rome, but, as a Russian theologian has said, "to the individualism and rationalism which lies at the bottom of every Protestant doctrine," may be traced as a working system throughout the whole history of the Orthodox Eastern Church. Perhaps the most striking instance was the prompt rejection of the Council of Florence both by the Greeks and by the Russians, in spite of the fact that the highest members of the hierarchy of both their nations had taken part in that council and had subscribed to its decrees.

I think that you will now see what Russian theological writers mean when they say that from their point of view

[1] From the definition of Papal Infallibility by the Vatican Council of 1870.—[A.R.]

Romanism and Protestantism represent two aspects of the same error, that error being the rejection of the authority of the Universal Church and the substitution of something else in its stead. Let us see how it works out in the question of the *Filioque*. This question has been a great deal discussed in Russia of late years in connection with the negotiations which were then going on between the Holy Synod and the Old Catholics, and I think that certain stumbling-blocks between East and West were undoubtedly removed. The question was whether the Old Catholics, who had already removed the word *Filioque* from the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, might yet retain the expression in their catechisms and manuals of theological instruction. Much learning was expended on the subject by the Russian theologians, and eventually the commission of the Holy Synod appointed to deal with the Old Catholic question formulated and accepted the following three propositions: (1) "We believe that the Father is the Cause of the Son and of the Spirit: the Son through generation, but the Holy Ghost through procession. The Father begetteth the Son and causeth the Holy Ghost to proceed: while the Son is begotten of the Father and the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father. And so we worship one Cause and acknowledge the Father as the one Cause of the Son and of the Spirit." [This first proposition is taken word for word from the Confession of Faith made by an Orthodox Bishop before his Consecration.] (2) "In theological speculations we avoid every sort of representation or expression, by which there might in any way be recognised two causes or two principles in the Holy Trinity, even if such be understood not in a similar sense, as for instance if the Son were recognised as a *secondary* principle, or a *secondary* cause of the Holy Ghost, or if the Father and the Son were conceived of as united into one principle for the sending forth of the Holy Ghost." (3) "We offer to theological speculation and investigation the elucidation of the view met with in the writings of some of the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church concerning the manifestation or shining forth or procession of the Holy Ghost

from the Father through the Son (*τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ φανεροῦται, ἢ ἐκλάμπει, ἢ πρόεισιν, ἢ ἐκπορεύεται*), whether this shining forth from the Father through the Son refers only to the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost into the world for conferring grace upon created beings, or whether it may be likewise conceived of in the eternal life of the Godhead."

Now I will not dwell further upon this pronouncement than to say that the last clause seems to admit of the retention of *Filioque* in the theological text-books of the Old Catholics as a theological opinion, provided that it be taken as not contradicting the former two clauses, but only as a form used in the West in effect equivalent to the widely used Eastern *theologoumenon* or theological opinion of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *through* (*διὰ*) the Son. That is to say, that the use of the term *Filioque* as a theological opinion need not constitute an *impedimentum dirimens* to inter-communion, provided that the term, if used in connection with the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit, be understood to imply, not a second, nor even a secondary cause of His being, but only a *condition* of His procession. But I fear that I cannot agree with those who, in writing to the English Press some two years ago, seemed to think that these propositions had finally got rid of one of the chief difficulties between East and West. It must be remembered that while the Old Catholics had already removed the word *Filioque* from the Creed, the rest of the West has not done so: and that a statement in the Creed constitutes, not a *theologoumenon* or theological opinion, but a dogma of the faith. And it is obvious that the Eastern Church cannot contemplate making any concessions so far as the Creed is concerned. I have read very carefully the writings on the subject (in connection with the Old Catholic commission) by the late Professor V. Bolotoff of Petrograd, which were published at length last year. His learning and his conciliatory attitude towards the Western view of the subject are universally acknowledged, and the influential part he took in the discussions of the commission is

well known. Yet from beginning to end of what he wrote there is not the least hint of his contemplating the toleration of *Filioque* in the Creed; nor even in the theological text-books as anything more than a theological opinion which under safeguards is capable of Orthodox interpretation. And, after all, a theological opinion, whatever even patristic weight it may have behind it, amounts to nothing more than a conjecture. But how can a *conjecture* find a place in the Œcumenical Creed of the Church? If you have to admit that one clause in the Creed is only a conjecture, what becomes of all the rest? Does it not reduce all the other clauses which the Creed contains—even those concerning the Virgin Birth and the Resurrection of our Lord—to a similar conjectural level, open to discussion, and subject, perhaps to additions by local councils, perhaps to evisceration at the hands of university professors? I do not think that it is difficult to see how it is that the Easterns look upon the conduct of the Latins in introducing and insisting on maintaining the *Filioque* into the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed as the first step in that doctrinal disintegration in the West which has stage by stage arrived at the state of things which we now see in Protestant Germany. In the witty, but not the least exaggerated words of the Russian theologian Khomiakoff, the conception of the Church has there come to be that of "a society of good men, differing in all their opinions, but earnestly seeking for truth, with a total certainty that it has not yet been found, and with no hope at all ever to find it!"

Thus the Russian theologians of whom I am speaking see, in the introduction of the *Filioque* into the Creed in a local church, without the authority or even the knowledge of the whole Church whose Creed it was, the practical admission of the principle which afterwards took the shape of Protestantism. But how was it that a fully developed form of Protestantism did not immediately arise? This, they say, was due to the fact that the West was still living much too close to the traditions and life of the individual Church to arrive at such a result without an intervening interval. That interval

was bridged over by the Papacy. By assigning to the canonical arrangements of the Œcumenical Councils, by which the order of precedence of the principal Sees of Christendom were regulated, a doctrinal, instead of a merely canonical and disciplinary significance, the theory was gradually evolved and eventually insisted upon, that, inasmuch as the See of St. Peter was universally acknowledged to be the first See of Christendom, the custody of the faith of the whole Church was in some peculiar way committed to that See, and that therefore the Western Patriarchate had the right to alter and add to the Œcumenical Creed, and that the rest of Christendom was bound to conform to whatever Rome ruled to be the teaching of the Church.

But however successfully this as an accomplished fact might for a time arrest the process of disintegration in the Western Church, the basis on which it rested were feet of clay. The occupant of the Apostolic See of the West claimed powers, differing in kind from, and over and above, those of any other member of the Episcopate; but from whom were these powers conveyed to him, and by what process were they conveyed? So far as the Bishops were concerned, the Saviour had said to His Apostles, "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you," and inasmuch as "without all contradiction the less is blessed of the better," the sacramental gift of episcopal consecration must come from a higher authority. This the Eastern Church provides for in the three or more Bishops, or at least two, whom she requires for the consecration of a Bishop. They act not in their individual capacities, but as a council of Bishops acknowledged by the whole Church as so acting on her behalf, exactly in the same way as an Œcumenical Council acts in the matter of defining the doctrine of the Church. But in the case of the Bishop of Rome you have not only episcopal, but super-episcopal powers claimed. How and by whom were, and are, these special powers bestowed upon each Pope on ascending the throne of St. Peter? There has never been any sort of sacramental formula provided for the

purpose.[1] There is nothing but his election: but whether he was elected by the people or the clergy of Rome, or whether as later on by the cardinals appointed by his predecessors, and therefore undeniably inferior to him—how could they be the channels of those vast spiritual powers which they neither individually or collectively possessed in themselves? Are not the Papal claims really a case of "the greater being blessed by the inferior"? This reversal of the right order of things, the Russian theologians say, logically led to the series of revolts in the Western Church which culminated in the great catastrophe of the sixteenth century, and in all the subsequent disintegration which has followed. If one Patriarch had revolted against the authority of the whole Church, what more natural than that in process of time one Province, or, as in the case of England, one group of Provinces, should revolt against the arbitrary authority of that Patriarchate? What more natural than that, carrying the process still further, the clergy should revolt against their Bishops as did Luther; and next, that the laity should revolt against the clergy, and that from henceforth Protestant Churches should become mere departments of the State ruled by the sovereign, or else communities in which their pastors received their sacred mission, not from a higher spiritual authority but from the congregation to whom they were to minister?

[1] Russian theologians often say that Papal claims involve an Eighth Sacrament. See p. 351.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH (*continued*).

To return now once more to the definition of the Church as "faith and love as a living organism". I have shown how they look upon the schism between West and East as affecting the faith of the Church; but they lay no less emphasis on its effect upon the charity or mutual love of the members of the Church for one another. Nobody who has any knowledge of the history of the 250 years, from the time of Charles the Great, when the quarrel which led to the schism began, down to the time of Leo IX and the Patriarch Cerularius, when it was consummated, will for a moment maintain that the faults in this respect were at all confined to one side. But nobody, I think, can deny that the action of Charles the Great in insisting on the right to add to the Creed without any reference to the East, and this just at the time when the Easterns were submitting the decrees of the Seventh General Council to the West for their consideration, was indeed a very great breach of Christian charity, and that the Papacy itself later on became involved in the guilt. The Easterns are never weary of pointing out that from that time forward the Western Church itself was torn asunder with rationalistic controversies which have never ceased from that day to this, and which never arrive at a final settlement. They naturally point first of all to the controversies over the Eucharist, the Sacrament, *par excellence*, of love both between Christ and His members, and between the members themselves. No controversy on this subject, which had its origin on Eastern soil, has ever arisen in the Orthodox Eastern Church. On the other hand, from the tenth century onwards such controversies have been rife in the

West. Councils might condemn Berengarius, might from time to time decree definitions, but the controversy soon broke out again in some other form in this or that place, and continued down to the Reformation, since which time these contentions have become more and more crystallised and there does not seem to be the slightest prospect of the West ever again becoming united on the subject.

The same thing is true as to the teaching and practice of the two main divisions of Christendom in respect to the communion of prayer between the living and the departed, concerning which there has never been any difference of opinion in the East, but which in the West has been for the last 600 years a subject of endless dispute. At first sight it might appear that there is little difference between Rome and the East so far as the subject of prayers for the dead and invocation of Saints is concerned. Roman theologians in their controversial writings against Protestantism make the most of the fact that the East has retained those practices which Protestants reject: they treat the question as if it was one upon which there was no difference between East and West, and ignore anything that Eastern writers may say to the contrary, attributing their objections, if they notice them at all, to a less highly developed stage in theological evolution. The fact, too, that many of the Greek and Russian theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even some in the last century, have made use of arguments borrowed from Latin theological text-books against Protestant objections upon this subject has lent additional colour to this supposition.

But the Russian theologians of the last century, whose views I have been placing before you, put the matter in a different light. We have already seen that they define the Church as "faith and love as an organism," that is to say, the Body of which Christ is the Head, and of which all those who have been, are, or shall be brought into it are the members, fulfilling itself indeed in time, but nevertheless constituting not an imaginary or allegorical, but a true and substantial unity. In fact there exists an essential difference between the

Eastern and Western conception of the nature of the unity of the Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic stakes his membership in the Communion of Saints upon the fact of his submission to an external authority, the occupant of the Primatial See of Christendom; whereas the Eastern feels himself to be spiritually united with the Church upon earth *because* he is united with the whole Body and its Divine Head. He emphatically denies that its Divine Founder cut His Church up into sections, and that when He ascended into heaven He constituted that section of it which He left upon earth into a separate organism, over which (as Leo XIII once told us) He "was obliged to designate a vicegerent" in order to preserve the essential unity of the Church. Consequently, whereas when the Latin speaks of the Holy Catholic Church he ordinarly means merely the Roman Church living on the earth at the present time, the Eastern keeps much more prominently before his mind the fact that the one Body consists, as St. Chrysostom (in *Ep. ad Ephes.* iv. 4) puts it, of "the faithful from all parts of the world, who are, have been, and shall be".

Invocation of Saints and prayers for the dead, in fact, form merely a portion of the mutual intercessions of all the members of the one Body for one another. We have already seen that Russian theologians define the Church as "faith and love as an organism". Mutual intercessions are at once the expression and the condition of this love, and indeed constitute the life-blood of the Body, coursing through its members and quickening its being. To quote from a letter written to me by a Russian theologian:[1] "The Church is grounded upon love, and is joined together by love in all her parts and members. Without love she is inconceivable. . . . Joined together in one compact organism, the visible Church, which is a part of the whole Church of Christ, constitutes for the believer heaven upon earth. Established in a world of enmity, she, inasmuch as she is grounded upon a new principle of life, detaches her

[1] The Archpriest E. Smirnoff, in a letter written in 1897. His quotations are from Khomiakoff.

members from sinfulness, and brings them nearer to the Maker and Father of all men, and before all to Jesus Christ, the Fountain of love, the chief Corner-stone, and Head of the whole Church. With His infinite love He permeates and embraces the whole Church, as being His own Body, inseparable from Himself, and in its essence indivisible. It was for this union of all believers that He prayed to God the Father in His prayer on the night before He died: 'Holy Father, keep in Thine own Name those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as We are. . . . I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one' (John xvii. 11, 23). In uniting Himself to the Church by means of this new principle of life, this 'new Commandment,' a man finds in her nothing which is alien to himself. On the contrary, he there finds himself, but himself not in the weakness of his spiritual isolation, but in the strength of his spiritual union with his brethren and with His Saviour. He discovers in her himself in his perfection, or rather that which there is of what is perfect within him—that is to say, Love, which, in the defilements and impurities of each individual in his separate existence, is constantly tending to disappear. This purification is accomplished by the invisible power of the mutual love of Christians in Jesus Christ, in Whom love finds its realisation in its highest form. 'How, it will be said, can the union of Christians give to each individual that which none of them has in his separate capacity? It is true indeed, that the grain of sand does not receive a new being from the vessel into which chance has thrown it. Such is a man in Protestantism. The brick, placed in a wall, is in no wise either changed or improved by the position assigned to it by the bricklayer's square and level. Such is a man in Romanism. But each particle of matter, which has been appropriated into a living body, becomes an integral part of its organism, and itself receives a new significance and a new life. Such is a man in the Church, in the Body of Christ, the organic principle of which is Love.' Neither the Latin nor the Protestant will agree with such a definition of the Church as this; for the former is ever 'think-

ing of a unity of the Church of such a nature as would leave no traces of a Christian man's liberty,' while the latter 'maintains a freedom of a kind in which the unity of the Church disappears altogether. But we [Orthodox] proclaim the Church to be both one and free. This Church, which is one, without having any need of an official representative of its unity, and which is free without its liberty manifesting itself in the disunion of its members, is, if I may be allowed to use the language of St. Paul, a stumbling-block in the eyes of the Judaising Latins, and foolishness in the eyes of the Hellenising Protestants; but for us she is the manifestation of the wisdom and infinite mercy of God upon earth. It can be seen that there is an essential difference between the idea of the Church and that of the Western Communions. The Church considers herself to be an organic unity, the living principle of which is the Divine grace of mutual love. As for the Western Communions, their idea of unity is quite conventional, and consists with the Protestants in nothing more than the arithmetical total of a certain number of individuals whose tendencies and beliefs are tolerably nearly identical, and with the Romans in nothing more than in a harmony of movements in the subjects and vassals of a semi-spiritual monarchy.'"

It follows, then, that the Russian theologians consider the differences which they find between the Latin teaching and their own on the subject of the invocation of Saints and of prayers for the dead to constitute, not a mere development of statement, but an actual alteration due to an altered conception as to the essential nature of the unity of the Church. That the communion of prayer between the visible and invisible world was not at once discontinued, as it afterwards was in nearly all the sects which arose out of the bosom of the Western Church, was, they say, due not to any essential necessity for retaining it, but to the habit and tradition of the Church, which was too notorious to be at once rejected. But it had to find a new *raison d'être*.[1] "Founded on faith in the

[1] It is a remarkable fact that whereas almost every religious body which has arisen in Western Christendom since the separation of East and West has shown a tendency to discontinue or to reject altogether the Invocation of

principle of love which unites the life on earth with the life in heaven, just as it unites individuals in their earthly life, when once this principle was lost sight of it had to find a new explanation. Communion of prayer manifested itself in two forms, requests for intercession addressed to the invisible world, and prayer for the invisible world addressed to God. Romanism took upon itself the position of an intermediary power between Paradise and Purgatory—that is to say between two societies, of which one stood higher and the other lower than itself, asking good offices of the one and conferring them upon the other. . . . The Latiniser, whether in the prayers which he addresses to the saints, or in those which he says for the dead, from the point of view of the Orthodox Church still continues in his isolation. A simple citizen of a society [housed in a building] of three stories, he is not a member of a living organism. He asks of those more powerful than himself their high protection, he accords his puny protection to those who are worse off than himself, but his poor individuality does not lose itself in a superior life of which he forms a part." [1]

It can hardly be doubted that it is this different conception of what constitutes the Church's unity which accounts for the much more vivid realisation of the nearness of the spiritual world which strikes all who have come into close contact with Eastern religion as contrasted with what obtains in the West. The separation between the visible and invisible world seems to be non-existent. You may hear a son who has that day prayed for his mother's soul at her grave entreat her, together with the Holy Mother of God and the saints, to pray for him before he goes to bed at night. I have seen in one of the cemeteries of the great monasteries which surround Moscow a newly engaged couple having a service for the dead

Saints, the sects which have arisen on Orthodox soil, including even those bodies of Old Believers who have rejected the hierarchy and therefore the Sacraments have all retained this practice, just as have the Nestorians, Armenians, and other bodies who separated from the undivided Church of the General Councils.

[1] Khomiakoff, *The Latin Church and Protestantism*, pp. 121-2.

said at their parents' grave, and immediately afterwards have heard them asking them to pray to God for a blessing on their marriage, and I subsequently found that this custom is as common as possible. The language used in the poetical addresses to the saints in the Eastern service-books may at first startle Westerns who are not accustomed to it, but when analysed is found only to be an expression of faith in the efficacy of the prayer of the righteous, and does not differ in kind from requests of the same sort to the living. If we find in the service-books "All our hopes we place in thee, O Mother of God," I have heard[1] the same sort of thing said to Father John of Cronstadt by individuals who were requesting him to intercede for them. To quote once more from Khomiakoff:—

"We know that when anyone of us falls, he falls alone; but no one is saved alone. He who is saved is saved in the

[1] This occurred on many occasions when I had the privilege of being with Father John, whether in the two Russian capitals and their neighbourhood, or amongst the peasantry in the Government of Olonetz. I first made his acquaintance on the shores of Lake Onega, where I by chance met him, when he was returning from a visit to his old home, and I had the happiness of spending the whole of one of the most wonderful days of my life in his company, when, following the example of his Divine Master, "he went about" all day amongst the peasants in the neighbourhood, "doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil".

After all, none of us would consider that the man who said to his doctor, called in to heal himself or anyone dear to him of a dangerous illness, "I place all my hopes in you," was thereby infringing upon the supreme prerogatives of the Divine Majesty. If in the case of many Englishmen it would be more natural to use such words to a doctor than to a saint (living or departed), this only means that the ordinary Englishman has more faith in the skill of a physician than in the efficacy of the prayers of a righteous man, and that in fact his general outlook upon things is not so close to that of the son of Sirach (Eccles. xxxviii. 11, 12) as is that of the ordinary Orthodox Russian. With regard to the saints, I have frequently found it difficult for Russians to understand the mentality of those English clergymen, who in endeavouring to reduce the spiritual world to ordinary material conditions of space and time, after having invited their congregations to sing hymns about having

> "Mystic sweet communion,
> With those whose rest is won,"

mount the pulpit and declare that, whatever they may feel about the saints, they must not on any account be on speaking terms with them.

Church, as a member of her, and in unity with all her other members. If anyone believes, he is in the communion of faith; if he loves, he is in the communion of love; if he prays, he is in the communion of prayer. Wherefore no one can rest his hope in his own prayers, and every one who prays asks the whole Church for intercession, not as if he had doubts of the intercession of Christ, the one Advocate, but in the assurances that the whole Church ever prays for all her members. All the angels pray for us, the apostles, martyrs, and patriarchs, and above them all the Mother of our Lord, and this holy unity is the true life of the Church. But if the Church, visible and invisible, prays without ceasing, why do we ask her for her prayers? Do we not entreat mercy of God and Christ, although His mercy preventeth our prayer? The very reason that we ask the Church for her prayers is that we know that she gives the assistance of her intercession even to him that does not ask for it, and to him that asks she gives it in far greater measure than he asks: for in her is the fulness of the Spirit of God. Thus we glorify all whom God has glorified and is glorifying; for how should we say that Christ is living within us, if we do not make ourselves like unto Christ? Wherefore we glorify the saints, the angels, and the prophets, and above all the most pure Mother of the Lord Jesus, not acknowledging her either to have been conceived without sin, or to have been perfect (for Christ alone is without sin and perfect), but remembering that the pre-eminence, passing all understanding, which she has above all God's creatures was borne witness to by the angel and by Elisabeth, and above all, by the Saviour Himself, when He appointed John, His great Apostle and seer of mysteries, to fulfil the duties of a son and to serve her.

"Just as each of us requires prayers from all, so each person owes his prayers on behalf of all, the living and the dead, and even those who are as yet unborn: for in praying, as we do with all the Church, that the world may come to the knowledge of God, we pray not only for the present generation, but for those whom God will hereafter call into life. We pray for the living that the grace of God may be upon them, and for

the dead that they may become worthy of the vision of God's face. We know nothing of an intermediate state of souls, which have neither been received into the kingdom of God, nor condemned to torture, for of such a state we have received no teaching either from the apostles or from Christ; we do not acknowledge Purgatory, that is, the purification of souls by sufferings from which they may be redeemed by their own works or those of others: for the Church knows nothing of salvation by outward means, nor any sufferings whatever they may be, except those of Christ; nor of bargaining with God, as in the case of a man buying himself off by good works.

"All such heathenism as this remains with the inheritors of the wisdom of the heathen, with those who pride themselves of place, or name, or in territorial dominion, and who have instituted an eighth Sacrament[1] of dead faith. But we pray in the spirit of love, knowing that no one will be saved otherwise than by the prayer of all the Church, in which Christ lives, knowing and trusting that so long as the end of time has not come, all the members of the Church, both living and departed, are being perfected incessantly by mutual prayer. The saints whom God has glorified are much higher than we, but higher than all is the Holy Church, which comprises within herself all the saints, and prays for all, as may be seen in the divinely inspired Liturgy. In her prayer our prayer is also heard, however unworthy we may be to be called sons of the Church. If, while worshipping and glorifying the saints, we pray that God may glorify them, we do not lay ourselves open to the charge of pride; for to us who have received permission to call God 'Our Father' leave has also been granted to pray, 'Hallowed be His Name. His Kingdom come, His will be done.' And if we are permitted to pray of God that He will glorify His Name, and accomplish His Will, who will forbid us to pray Him to glorify His saints, and to give repose to His elect?[2] For those indeed who are not of the elect we do

[1] See p. 342.

[2] Khomiakoff is here referring to the passage near the commencement of the Great Prayer of Intercession after the Consecration of the Eucharist in

not pray, just as Christ prayed not for the whole world, but for those whom the Lord had given unto Him (John xvii. 9). Let no man say: 'What prayer shall I apportion for the living or the departed, when my prayers are insufficient even for myself?' For if he is not able to pray, of what use would it be to pray even for himself? But in truth the spirit of love prays in him. Likewise let him not say: 'What is the good of my prayer for another, when he prays for himself, and Christ Himself intercedes for him?' When a man prays, it is the spirit of love which prays within him. Let him not say: 'It is even now impossible to change the judgment of God,' for his prayer itself is included in the ways of God, and God foresaw it. If he be a member of the Church his prayer is necessary for all her members. If the hand should say, that it did not require blood from the rest of the body, and that it would not give its own blood to it, the hand would wither. So a man is also necessary to the Church, as long as he is in her: and if he withdraws himself from communion with her, he perishes himself and will cease to be any longer a member of the Church. The Church prays for all, and we pray together for all; but our prayer must be true, and a true expression of love, and not a mere form of words. Not being able to love all men, we pray for those whom we love, and our prayer is not hypocritical; but we pray God, that we may be able to love all, and pray for all without hypocrisy. Mutual prayer is the blood of the Church, and the glorification of God

the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, in which the Eastern Church *prays for*, as well as asks to be assisted by the prayers of, all the saints:—

"And further we offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith; especially the most holy undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary, the Holy John the Prophet, Forerunner and Baptist, the holy, glorious, and all-celebrated Apostles, Saint N. (*the Saint of the day*), whose memory we also celebrate, and all Thy Saints, through whose prayers look down upon us, O God. And remember all those that are departed in the hope of the resurrection to eternal life, and give them rest where the light of Thy countenance shines upon them."

her breath. We pray in a spirit of love, not of interest, in the spirit of filial freedom, not of the law of the hireling demanding his pay. Every man who asks: 'What use is there in prayer?' acknowledges himself to be in bondage. True prayer is true love."

I have dealt with the question of the Communion of Saints at great length, partly because I was anxious to quote from Russian writers themselves, in order to show English Churchmen that the writer of Tract XC was neither alone nor the first to maintain that there is a Catholic doctrine on the subject which is not to be confounded with "the Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory and Invocation of Saints," which is objected to in the Thirty-nine Articles, and partly because of its extreme importance in the eyes of Eastern theologians. In the words of the writer of the letter from which I have already quoted, "nearly the whole range of Christian dogmatics centres itself upon this point and crosses and recrosses it: and this because there can be no doubt that it rests upon the doctrine of the Orthodox Church concerning the nature of the Church herself". I had intended to touch upon several other doctrinal questions, but time will not permit, and I must bring my observations to a conclusion. In laying the views of the Slavophile school of theologians before you, the question may naturally arise whether I have not been exaggerating their importance, and been dealing with the opinions of a school of thought in Russia rather than with the doctrine of the Russian Church. I do not think so. If the theological method of these writers was a new departure at the time when they made their appearance, this was only because the Russian theologians of the previous two centuries in their controversial writings had borrowed their weapons from non-Orthodox sources, drawing largely, sometimes on Latin, sometimes on Protestant systems of theology in order to combat the arguments of the one or the other, as necessity arose. The Slavophile theological movement was in reality a return from a non-Orthodox to an Orthodox system of theology. While

there was much that was new in its methods, it will be found to fit in completely both with the Orthodox standards of earlier centuries and with the Russian Catechism and other authoritative formularies which had been set forth in the 'thirties and 'forties of the last century. As we have seen, the keystone of their position, namely their teaching concerning the nature of the Church, received a striking confirmation from the reply in 1848 of the Greek Patriarchs to the Encyclical of Pius IX. The fact that this was signed by three Patriarchs and a Synod of twenty-eight Bishops, and was subsequently translated and set forth in Russia by the Holy Synod, constituted it as near a document of Œcumenical significance for the Holy Eastern Church as was possible under the circumstances of those times. I have never come across a Russian theologian who was prepared to dispute the soundness of their general line. And while, as I hinted at the beginning, the lines which Eastern theologians follow in their controversial writings against Rome and Protestantism are not always such as render them readily serviceable to Anglican controversialists, still I am sure that the basis on which these writings rest, namely the authority of the undivided Catholic Church, is identical with that for which the Church of England stands. The object of our Association [1] is not to make Anglicans of the Russians nor Easterns of the English, but to get to understand one another better, our teaching, our history, our modes of thought: this, if pursued on the charitable lines with which intercourse between Russian and English Churchmen is at present so happily conducted, is the surest way of drawing our Churches nearer to one another, and to the consummation of that ultimate object we all have at heart—the restoration of Communion between our Church and the Orthodox East.[2]

[1] The Anglican and Eastern Association.—[A.R.]

[2] In the course of a somewhat severe passage upon Anglicanism in his third Essay upon *The Latin Church and Protestantism*, written in 1857, soon after the secession to Rome of Mr. Palmer and others, when it naturally appeared to our Russian well-wishers as if the whole Catholic movement in the English Church was likely to come to an end, Khomiakoff writes: "Anglicanism by its most distinguished representatives has condemned the

Roman Schism in all its distinctive dogmas (that is to say in the Papal Supremacy and in the addition of *Filioque*, an addition which the scholars of Germany, and amongst others M. Bunsen, likewise declare to be an obvious falsification). Anglicanism has not a single reason to give, and has never given one, for not being Orthodox. It is in the Church by all its principles (I mean by that, its real and characteristic principles); it is outside the Church by its historic provincialism, a provincialism which imposes upon it a false appearance (*faux-air*) of Protestantism, which deprives it of any tradition, and of any logical basis, but from which it has not the will to emancipate itself, partly because of national pride, and partly because of the habitual respect of England for an accomplished fact. . . ."

Note on Transubstantiation.

[1] It may be useful to append the Article of the Synod of Bethlehem (or Jerusalem) explaining the sense in which the term *Transubstantiation* is accepted by the Eastern Church.

Greek Version A.D. 1672.	Russian Version A.D. 1838.
"Further we believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine the substance of the bread and wine no longer remains, but the very Body and Blood of our Lord under the appearance and form of bread and wine, that is to say, under the accidents of the bread and wine.	"Further we believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine, the very (*samyjipse*) bread and wine no longer remain but the very Body and Blood of our Lord under the appearance or form of bread and wine.
"The Body and Blood of our Lord are divided and separated by hand and teeth in their accidents alone, or in the accidents of bread and wine, through which they may be seen or touched."	"The Body and Blood of our Lord are divided and separated, yet this takes place in the mystery of the Communion only with respect to the species of bread and wine through which alone they may be seen and touched."

In an article in the *Guardian* of May 31, 1897, on *The Russian Church and the Council of Trent*, Birkbeck pointed out how careful the Russian ecclesiastical authorities have been "not to commit themselves to the alien theological definitions of the West, more especially those of the Council of Trent and the Catechism of Pope Pius V." The original Articles of the Synod were drawn up to repel the insidious attacks of Lutheran and Calvinist heresies. But the Russian Orthodox Church "found Saul's armour to be a hindrance rather than a help, and that the Orthodox sling and pebbles from the brook were quite sufficient for her purpose without committing herself to the clumsy and antiquated scholastic definitions to which the Roman Church had in the sixteenth century irrevocably bound her dogmatic system."

Birkbeck accepted without reserve the Eastern statement of the doctrine of the Real Presence (thinking, however, that it would have been better if a Western term had not been admitted which only had to be explained away).

But he was too well informed as to the difference between the Eastern and Western mentalities to approve of inculcating among ourselves the Eastern attitude towards the Reserved Sacrament. I have often discussed this with him, and he thought it impossible that Englishmen should really believe the Sacrament to be, as St. John Damascene says, "the Body and Blood of God," without internal and external motions of adoration.

[A. R.]

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILST the foregoing pages were passing through the press the Russian Revolution took place in March, 1917 : the Tzar abdicated and a Provisional Government was set up. At the moment of writing that Government has been captured by the Socialists and other politicians of the Extreme Left, the members of the Imperial Family are imprisoned in one of their palaces, cut off from all communication with the outside world, and Russia presents a picture resembling in almost every detail the condition of France in 1791. Since the events at the close of the Russo-Japanese War, when the Duma was summoned, it had become evident that further developments were impending, and each of the two parties, the Conservative and the Revolutionary, entered upon the Great War with the hope of strengthening its position. It is far too early to apportion justly the responsibility for the catastrophe ; the allegations that the Tzar and especially the Tzarina had secretly betrayed their country to the Germans come from those whose interest it is to destroy them, and we must wait patiently for the evidence that time will bring. On the one side it may be admitted that when it became clear that the War was being exploited in the Allied countries in the interests of

democracy the enthusiasm of the Imperialists cooled; they would have shrunk from waging the War to the extremity of destroying entirely the neighbouring Empires of Austria-Hungary and Germany. On the other, no one before the War ever accused the Tzar of lukewarmness either to his people or to his religion, and though, like many other Royal personages, the Tzarina was German by blood she had embraced Orthodoxy from conviction and by so doing had severed herself irrevocably from the traditions of her birth. And here I think it right to disclose what on page 70 I could only hint at. Before she could marry the heir to the Russian Throne Princess Alix, as she then was, had to embrace the national faith. This in the case of most mixed marriages, it is to be feared, is an empty form, but the Princess had a conscience which raised objections. Birkbeck's paper on *Reunion with the Russian Church* was given by Pobiedonostzeff to the Tzarevitch who handed it to the Princess. Her respect for Queen Victoria seems to have led her to read with attention an essay on the Russian faith written by a member of her grandmother's Church. It is certain that by this means her last scruples were removed and she became a conscientious and not a mere nominal member of the Orthodox Church. And the history of the events which led up to the Revolution fits into this fact. That Rasputin, that sinister figure, the evil genius of the Empire, was possessed of extraordinary powers, probably of an hypnotic nature, is true. But his influence over the Empress was exercised through her devotion to the faith she had embraced, it was as a reputed "starets," or spiritual personage, that he

gained that powerful influence over the Imperial family which enabled him to fill high places in both Church and State with his nominees, throw the whole administration of the country into confusion in the midst of a terrific struggle with a foreign foe, and make a revolution all but inevitable. As I have said, I never saw Birkbeck after his return from Russia for the last time in June, 1916, but I know that he returned with gloomy forebodings. He was indeed *felix opportunitate mortis;* the Revolution would have broken his heart.

The Revolution overthrows the Slavophile policy which aimed at uniting the Slav race in the bonds of the Russian Empire as regards temporal matters and of Orthodoxy as regards spiritual. This policy was the immediate cause of the Great War which Russia entered to protect Serbia. It looked forward to the resurrection of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire under the Tzar with "Constantinople," "Tzargrad," as its centre. "Holy Russia," freed from foreign and especially from German influences, was to be a "city that is set on an hill," a witness in the world before God of true government and true religion. It was a noble dream, and into this policy Birkbeck threw himself, heart and soul. It is outlined in many places throughout these essays, particularly in that which so influenced the Tzarina.[1] Khomiakoff, the theologian, in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and Pobiedonostzeff, the statesman, in the second half, were protagonists in this cause. The latter impressed me as a singularly able and perfectly honest man, with one aim in life, to defend "Russia and Orthodoxy"

[1] See pages 76-82.

from contamination with the principles of the French Revolution which have submerged the world. And he strove to do this by a method which was foredoomed to failure. The Russian people were to be fenced round by every bulwark that statecraft could devise, books and newspapers were severely censored,[1] religious proselytism was forbidden, Papist and Protestant missionaries were shut out impartially; the Tzar had sacred duties, above all, as the minister of God, he had to protect the people committed to his charge from every evil, before the Throne of Heaven he must one day answer for their souls. A splendid and solemn theory of government, so strange to us that we are tempted to forget that it was the theory which evolved the civilisation of Europe, and that it has only been discarded amongst us in modern times for principles which are still on their trial and for forms of government which have yet to justify themselves by results. It was foredoomed to failure because it took no account of the irresistible power of human tides which flow and ebb in obedience to forces beyond our control. There may not be progress in this world, but there is, at least, no stagnation. Against these tides we may struggle, nay it is often our duty to struggle, especially at the beginning when their strength is still uncertain, but we usually struggle in vain. Our consolation comes from the conviction that all things are in the hands of God, that principles, if true, are perdurable, and that no honest effort to do right on our part will go unrewarded. We have confidence because our hearts

[1] *The Times* would be delivered by post often with whole columns blacked out; one could read an untouched copy in Pobiedonostzeff's cabinet!

are set serenely on things above and because we can say with gentle scorn,

> That though you hunt the Christian man
> As a hare on the hill-side,
> That hare has still more heart to run
> Than you have heart to ride.
>
> That though all lances split on you,
> All swords be heaved in vain,
> We have more lust again to lose
> Than you to win again.[1]

To forecast events in Russia at this moment is difficult indeed. But we may hazard the opinion that the present politicians who have climbed into power will not retain their places; their programme is too violently opposed to all that Russia has stood for in the past. The conversion of the Empire into one homogeneous Republic is hardly possible; the attempt would probably result in breaking up the different countries and races into independent units. We are more likely to see by a counter-revolution, or by some less drastic process, the restoration of the Empire in a modified form. Until a longer time has elapsed since the catastrophe speculation as to the political future of Russia is mere guess-work, and cannot be pursued further in these pages.

Up to the present we know next to nothing of the effect of the Revolution on the Church. Certain bishops have been removed from their sees, and a new Procurator representing the Provisional Government has replaced the Imperial Procurator at the Holy Synod—that is all we have yet been told. But men who claim to represent the principles of French Republicanism can hardly be sympathetic with religion,

[1] G. K. Chesterton, *Ballad of the White Horse.*

and it is significant that the last time the name of God was mentioned in an official document was in the dignified farewell of the Tzar to his people. Are Russia's splendid shrines to be destroyed, and her Church, which made her great, humbled to the dust? Are all the glory and solemnities described in these pages to pass away as a dream? *Domine Deus tu nosti.*

The weakness of the Church of Russia in the face of these tremendous political changes lies in her strong Byzantine traditions, emanating from a past when the Eastern Church and Empire were closely linked together through the personality of the Emperor. The tendency in later times, notably in the reconstitution of national institutions by Peter the Great, has been to accentuate these traditions and to destroy still further the independence of the Church. Thus, the *modus vivendi* of a "Free Church in a Free State," advanced by Liberal French Catholics after the French Revolution had put an end to the old ideal of the relation between Church and State, would mean for the Russian Church a complete reversal of her historical growth.[1] Can she adapt

[1] We do not yet recognise all that the destruction of unity of life has meant to the modern world. We are so accustomed to the arbitrary severance of the individual into two parts—his religious energising being regarded as one thing and his civic energising as another—that we hardly realise that this severance is only a counsel of despair and a confession of the bankruptcy of civilisation. Instead of progressing the world seems to have got into a back current from which, if it lasts long enough, it will have to start over again. For it *does* matter what a man believes. If, as is generally admitted, faith is to be judged by its works, then it follows that a true faith will produce one kind of morality and a false faith another. But morality is that upon which a state is founded and by which it is continuously nourished. If Christ's religion is from Heaven and if His Church is true, no man can be a good citizen, that is, perfect in his civic relations, unless he is in proper relations with things supernal. It may be thought to need some courage to say this

herself to altered circumstances, i.e. existence within a neutral or even hostile State? What will be her fate when exposed to the competition of rival churches and sects? Nothing just like the present crisis has ever happened to the Eastern Church before; in many ways the Fall of Constantinople and the enslavement of the Greek Church by the infidel was an easier shock to withstand. This is the weakness of the Russian Church; her strength lies in the devotion of her people, especially of her peasantry. If her children are not led away by the glamour of material and earthly things, if they still preserve their simple and touching devotion to our Lord, so conspicuous, for instance, in their pilgrimages to the earthly Jerusalem, if they still trust in the protection of His Most Holy Mother and in the fellowship of Jerusalem which is above, then the Church of Russia may launch out boldly into the deep, knowing that from all temptations and troubles allowed by the good God He has provided a way of escape that we may be able to bear them.

in these unpropitious times. But it never needs courage to say what is true and in accordance with reason, because you know that you will be proved right in the end.

June, 1917.

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